DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 134 022 FL 008 336

AUTHOR Lafayette, Robert C., Ed.
TITLE The Cultural Revolution in Foreign Language Teaching. A Guide for Building the Modern Curriculum. Selected Papers from the 1975 Central States Conference.
INSTITUTION Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages.
PUB DATE 75
NOTE 171p.; For related documents, see FL 008 336-339
AVAILABLE FROM National Textbook Co., 8259 Niles Center Rd., Skokie, Illinois 60076

EDRS PRICE MF-$0.83 Plus Postage. HC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS *Biculturalism; Bilingual Education; Cultural Awareness; Cultural Differences; Cultural Education; *Cultural Pluralism; Cultural Traits; Culture; Curriculum Planning; Elementary Secondary Education; *Ethnic Groups; French; German; Higher Education; *Language Instruction; Latin American Culture; *Modern Language Curriculum; *Second Language Learning; Sex Discrimination; Spanish; Spanish Americans; Spanish Culture; Study Abroad; Teaching Methods; Textbook Evaluation; Travel; Visual Aids

ABSTRACT

This book consists of eleven papers presented at the 1975 Central States Conference. The principal objective of the conference was to examine the trend for human relations, ethnic studies, and bilingual-bicultural education in American education and the new interest in languages not usually taught in the past. The papers include: (1) "We're All Ethnics: Hyphenated Americans, Professional Ethnics, and Ethnics by Attraction," by Lorraine A. Strasheim; (2) "The Analysis of Language and Familiar Cultures," by Nelson Brooks; (3) "Linguistic Diversity in the Classroom," by Geneva Smitherman; (4) "Analyzing French Culture and Interpreting Some of its Manifestations," by Jacqueline C. Elliot; (5) "Analyzing Hispanic Culture: Some Implications for Teaching," by Yvonne de Wright; (6) "A Look at Americans of German Descent," by La Vern J. Rippley; (7) "Newspapers and Magazines in the Second Language Classroom," by Helen L. Jorstad; (8) "Evaluating Cultural Learnings," by Robert C. Lafayette and Renate Schulz; (9) "Sexism in French Language Textbooks," by Betty Schmitz; (10) "Preparing Teachers for Cultural Pluralism," by Margaret Shryer; and (11) "Study-Travel Abroad," by Sue Reynolds. (CFM)

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CENTRAL STATES

Report of Central States Conference on Foreign Language Education

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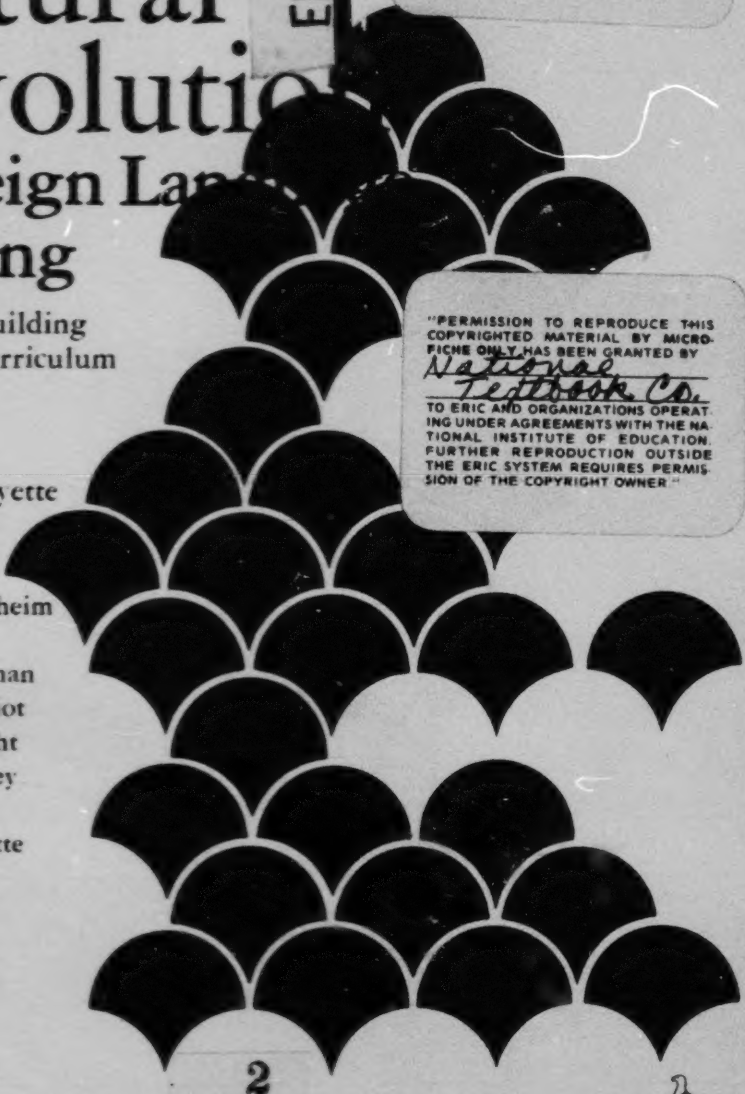

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FL008336

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Published by National Textbook Company NTC

The Culture Revolution
in Foreign Language Teaching

A Guide for Building the Modern Curriculum
Selected Papers from the 1975 Central States Conference

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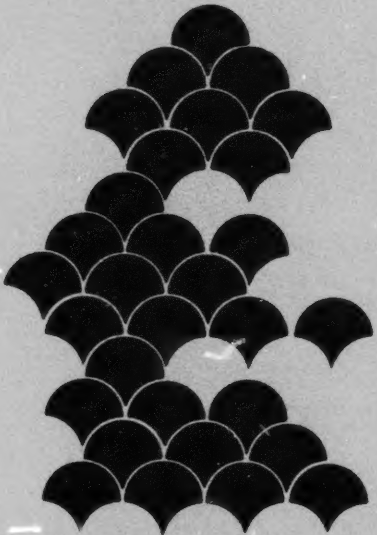

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To the memory of
Florence Steiner
1925–1974
Board of Directors, Central States Conference
on the Teaching of Foreign Languages
1971–1974

No bubble is so iridescent or floats
longer than that blown by the
successful teacher.

SIR WILLIAM OSLER

Preface

The 1970s are likely to be remembered among other things, as the period in which the melting pot theory was finally laid to rest in America. Blacks led the way. "Black is beautiful" and "soul" translated into "I *am* different and am proud of it" and "I have a right to my own lifestyle." Other ethnic groups began to demonstrate almost as much pride in the cultures of their forefathers as in their Americanism. And why not? Many have through generations quietly clung to ethnic ties rather than embracing wholeheartedly the alien but dominant WASP culture. Cultural centers, ethnic fraternal organizations, bilingual-bicultural programs are all part of the same rising tide of ethnic pride.

There is already a growing body of literature regarding the subcultures in American life. One of the major works is *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* by Michael Novak. In his book, Novak documents the frustrations and anger of a minority that most Americans probably felt was swiftly disappearing in the melting pot.

How does all of this ethnic awareness affect the teaching of languages and cultures in American schools and colleges? Language courses have dealt at best in a perfunctory manner with cultural pluralism in America or other lands. At worst, the profession has been clearly antagonistic. This writer remembers the chairman of the language department of a great American university ridiculing members of one ethnic group who wanted to preserve the language of their forefathers. In that language teacher's opinion the language was only a key to open the door to a great literature, not to the hearts of a part of mankind. This person exemplifies furthermore, a prevelant attitude that places value on language skills only if they are learned in school. As a country we seem to have taken it as our task to beat every ounce of ethnic pride out of newcomers to the United States and their descendants. Only after accomplishing this task, apparently, is it safe to teach a "foreign" language, preferably one of three western European languages.

Now there is a strong trend for human relations, ethnic studies, and bilingual-bicultural education in American education. There is a new interest in languages not usually taught in the past. The 1975 Central States Conference is an attempt to examine this trend, to sharpen our skills for detecting cultural diversity, and to explore some ways that language teachers can contribute toward the acceptance of cultural pluralism through their teaching.

Jermaine D. Arendt
1975 Conference Chairman

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Introduction

Robert C. Lafayette
Indiana University

> America is God's Crucible, the great Melting Pot where all the races of Europe are melting and reforming! Here you stand, good folk, think I, when I see them at Ellis Island, here you stand in your fifty groups with your fifty languages and histories, and your fifty hatreds and rivalries, but you won't be long like that, brothers, for these are the fires of God. A fig for your feuds and vendettas! Germans and Frenchmen, Irishmen and Englishmen, Jews and Russians–into the Crucible with you all! God is making the American. . . . The real American has not yet arrived. He is only in the Crucible. I tell you–he will be the fusion of all races, the coming superman.[1]

The above quote describes very well the attitude that Americans held for decades following the major wave of immigration to the United States during the 19th century. As pointed out by Arendt in the Preface, and Strasheim and Smitherman in their respective chapters, the move away from the melting pot toward the importance of ethnic backgrounds is indeed a contemporary phenomenon, stemming from the Supreme Court decisions and the black uprisings of the fifties and sixties. The latter no doubt gave impetus to the Latino movement of the sixties that played a key role in bringing about the Bilingual Education Act of 1967. Today we are witnessing "the rise of the unmeltable ethnics" to quote the title of Michael Novak's book. We are in the midst of a new social form:

ethnicity. This culture revolution in American society probably is summed up best by Novak, one of the keynote speakers at the 1975 Central States Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages, when he says:

> In any case, millions of Americans, who for a long time tried desperately even if unconsciously to become "Americanized," are delighted to discover that they no longer have to pay that price; are grateful that they were born among the people destiny placed them in; are pleased to discover the possibilities and the limits inherent in being who they are; and are openly happy about what heretofore they had disguised in silence. There is a creativity and new release, there is liberation, and there is hope.
>
> America is becoming America.[2]

At the same time as American society is undergoing a culture revolution so too is the language teaching profession. According to Louis G. Kelly, the role of culture in language teaching was insignificant until the advent of the Direct Method at the end of the 19th century. Even then, culture played only a minor role in most language classrooms. It grew in importance during the second world war, when, as Kelly says, "one of the goals of the ASTP (Army Special Training Program) was to reduce the clash between the American cultural values of the soldiers and the cultural values of those among whom they were fighting."[3]

As culture made the transition from a specially designed program to the classroom it assumed the characteristics of formal culture with its emphasis on history, geography, and the arts. It was not until the late sixties and early seventies that the language teaching profession as a whole began thinking seriously about the importance of everyday culture. Due to the efforts of Brooks, Nostrand, Seelye, and many others, the goal of teaching culture in language classes gained in importance and visibility. In most instances, however, the target culture studied was that of the mother country, and little attention was paid to those ethnic elements of the same culture that existed in the United States. This continues to be true in many classrooms today, but an increasing number of teachers are guiding the profession through yet another phase of the culture revolution, where culture at home (ethnicity) is assuming as much importance as culture abroad. To quote the theme of the 1975 Central States Conference, the profession is witnessing "New Challenges, New Opportunities: Foreign Language in a Multi-ethnic Society."

The chapters in this book provide examples of the last two phases of the culture revolution; they attempt to balance the importance of culture at home and culture abroad. In doing so they present to the reader four different levels of encounter with the culture revolution:

1. Theories of culture
2. Factual information about cultures
3. Attitudinal readiness to accept the teaching of other cultures
4. Classroom practices to help improve the teaching of culture.

Although many chapters include sound theoretical underpinnings, two stand out as most important in establishing theoretical guidelines for teaching culture: Brooks and Strasheim. Brooks continues his excellent work with culture by sharpening some of his previous definitions of the term and providing the reader with an insightful model for analyzing foreign and familiar cultures. Strasheim examines three different types of ethnics, the "hyphenated" American, the "professional" ethnic, and the ethnic "by attraction:" She stresses the positive value of ethnicity to all language teachers, but warns the profession to beware of "professional" ethnics.

Factual information about cultures at home is provided by Smitherman who gives the historical background of Black English and describes several unique characteristics of the language, and Rippley who traces the history of Germans in the United States from mid-19th century to the present day. Factual information about foreign cultures is found in the chapters by Elliot and de Wright, who analyze salient features of French and Spanish culture respectively. A different type of factual information is found in Smith who exposes a wide array of sexism to be found in elementary French textbooks.

The attitudinal readiness to deal with foreign and familiar cultures is discussed by Shryer, Smith, Smitherman, and Strasheim. Shryer describes the efforts of Minneapolis language teachers who participate in a special combination preservice-inservice course designed to improve cross-cultural understanding. Smith outlines a four step approach to detecting sexism in textbooks and makes practical suggestions for presenting a more balanced view of humanity. Smitherman warns of the danger of advocating one "correct" version of a language and gives excellent advice to second language teachers who continue to insist on comparing the target language to standard English. Strasheim stresses the need for "genuine community" within the ethnic confines of the United States and within the language teaching profession itself.

There are practical suggestions designed to ameliorate the teaching of culture in the classroom in almost every chapter. Four of them stand out, however, as goldmines of ideas ready for classroom implementation. Brooks lists an excellent set of questions that teachers can ask either themselves or their students to help distinguish between the personal and institutional aspects of culture. Jorstad discusses the importance of the printed media in studying culture and describes numerous classroom techniques for its implementation. Lafayette and Schulz show the need to evaluate cultural learnings and provide the reader with many sample test items that can be used as is or be adapted to test different cultural traits. In the Reynolds chapter, the classroom is the foreign country. This chapter brings together the techniques and know-how of five very different but successful study/travel abroad programs. It offers teachers an unlimited number of practical suggestions in planning and implementing programs abroad that will foster deeper insights into the ways of other peoples.

The culture revolution in language teaching has progressed from total lack of culture to the presence of ethnicity in the classroom with two intervening steps: the presence of *formal* foreign culture and the presence of *everyday* foreign culture. The culture revolution in American society, on the other hand, has followed a somewhat different path. It has gone from the melting pot or absence of culture to the importance of ethnicity without the intervening steps seen in the culture revolution in language teaching. It is my hope that in seeing the importance of ethnic cultures at home, American society now will begin to value more dearly the importance of different cultures abroad and in doing so view with increasing intensity the value of second language learning.

Notes

1. Israel Zangwill, *The Melting Pot* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1909), p. 37.
2. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Macmillan & Co., 1971), p. 291.
3. Louis G. Kelly, *25 Centuries of Language Teaching* (Rowley, Mass.: Newbury House Publishers, 1969), p. 307.

1

We're *All* Ethnics:

Hyphenated Americans, Professional Ethnics, and Ethnics by Attraction

Lorraine A. Strasheim
Indiana University

The incredible and marvelous diversity of the United States, a diversity of languages, of religions, and of values, was deliberately recruited, if we believe Emma Lazarus' lines incribed on the Statue of Liberty:

Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,
Send these, the homeless, tempest-tossed to me:
I lift my lamp beside the golden door.

The result was a "mix" of Native Americans, Anglo-Saxon Americans, Spanish speaking Americans, Black Americans, Oriental Americans, a variety of European Americans, and Jewish Americans—today's "ethnics."

What is an ethnic group? Barbara A. Sizemore would provide us a social scientist's definition:

> An ethnic group is any group of the same race, religion and/or nationality who shares a common and distinctive culture. However Moynihan and Glazer define ethnic groups as interest groups. They say that the ethnic group became a new social form, not a survival from the age of mass immigration. According to their study and in agreement with Handlin, ethnic groups are continually re-created by new experiences even after distinctive

> language, custom, and culture losses. They show that these interest groups carved out work niches and experiences for their own and passed the fruits of these labors to their children through inheritance.[1]

Michael Novak gives a more "likeable" definition, one more susceptible to ready empathy:

> What is an ethnic group? It is a group with historical memory, real or imaginary. One belongs to an ethnic group in part involuntarily, in part by choice. Given a grandparent or two, one chooses to shape one's consciousness by one history rather than another. Ethnic memory is not a set of events remembered, but rather a set of instincts, feelings, intimacies, expectations, patterns of emotion and behavior; a sense of reality; a set of stories for individuals—and for the people as a whole—to live out.[2]

In the 43rd *Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies, a compelling and courageous effort, Harris L. Dante, then president of the council, provides a comprehensive definition of the scope of ethnic groups and ethnic studies. Although the definition is lengthy, it is worthy of inclusion in our deliberations, for we are beginning our explorations of this area:

> We are all immigrants, yet one of the great blots on the record of American democracy is the manner in which the fate of the first inhabitants, later arrivals, and minority groups in general has been entrusted to the Anglo-Saxon majority. Native Americans were exterminated, cheated, relegated to less desirable lands, and deprived of justice. Black Americans were brought here against their will, enslaved, treated as inferiors, and omitted from the mainstream of American society. Spanish-speaking Americans have been dealt with as aliens rather than citizens and have likewise been exploited and discriminated against. Oriental Americans have been regarded as different, inscrutable, mysterious persons, and have experienced loss of civil rights and other privileges of citizenship. Many European ethnic groups have fought their way up from the bottom of the economic ladder only to find themselves on the cutting edge of our great urban problems. Unfortunately, those groups along with the urban poor and other minority groups do not realize the extent to which they are pitted against each other to the advantage of the power structure. American Jews have been the victims of anti-Semitism and often stereotyped with the diversity that exists among them overlooked Women have been subordinated in our history and treated as second-class citizens in the economic arena, as well as in day-to-day personal and social relationships.[3]

Every one of us, then, fits into the ethnic picture somewhere—as "hyphenated" Americans, as enumerated, as "white ethnics," or as women.

However we feel personally about the ethnic movements, as members of the language teaching profession, we are involved deeply on two levels. The first of these involvements stems from our citizenship in the United States, for the ethnic movement today is an effort to answer two questions left over from the 19th century when the mass immigrations were taking place. Mildred Dickeman, asserting that a major dialogue that should have but did not occur in our growing democracy, identifies the two questions still awaiting resolution as:

1. To what degree is conformity necessary for a federal system of representative democracy?
2. In what areas is a consensus of values required, and in what areas may cultural diversity persist and even be an asset?[4]

As citizens, each and every one of us has to be involved in formulating these responses. Because so many peoples, so many languages, and so many *cultures* are involved in these questions, the language teaching profession finally must decide to accept the two challenges offered by F. André Paquette in the late sixties.

> . . . We will have to extend the boundaries of our past concerns and become involved in two related problems: the first is to help provide bilingual education for millions of Americans whose mother tongue is not the language of ordinary school instruction. . . . The second is our responsibility to assess, protect, maintain, and defend the natural linguistic resources of our countries. For too long we have allowed a few individuals to bear these responsibilities; we must do more than offer token support. We must make it very clear to any who do not understand *that it is not un-American to be bilingual.* On the contrary, there is every reason to believe that we should envision and strive for bilingualism in every country in this hemisphere.[5]

If we do not become actively, stridently, and positively involved in the ethnic movement, our silence will be an indication that it *is* un-American to be bilingual and mark the last whimper of languages in the curricula of our nation's institutions of learning.

Let us examine three forms of ethnicity, that for lack of more compelling designations I am calling *hyphenated* Americans, *professional* ethnics, and ethnics *by attraction.* As is my wont, I shall use myself as a guinea pig, partially because I have been researching me for nearly half a century and partially because, like John Barth, I do not believe I am a supporting player in this drama. Barth writes:

> In life, . . . there are no essentially major or minor characters. To that extent, all fiction and biography, and most historiography is a lie. Everyone is necessarily the hero of his own life story. Suppose you're an usher in a wedding. From the groom's viewpoint he's the major character; the others play supporting parts, even the bride. From your viewpoint, though, the wedding is a minor episode in the very interesting history of *your* life, and the bride and groom both are minor figures. What you've done is choose to *play the part* of a minor character: it can be pleasant for you to *pretend to be* less important than you know you are, as Odysseus does when he disguises as a swineherd. And every member of the congregation at the wedding sees himself as the major character condescending to witness the spectacle. So in this sense fiction isn't a lie at all, but a true representation of the distortion, that everyone makes of life.[6]

So let's use my "distortion . . . of life," as a "three-time" ethnic, as a catalyst to spur some thinking and see if we can find some direction.

One Hyphenated American's Experience

I grew up as a hyphenated American—a German-American to be precise, a German-Russian-American to be purist. My parents "celebrated" the stock market crash of 1929 by having a baby; my adolescence was in full bloom during World War II. Although, unlike Michael Novak, I do not consider my youth an unhappy one, it is only recently that I "have experienced a(n) . . . inner thaw, a gradual relaxation, a willingness to think about feelings before shepherded out of sight."[7]

My most important memories are a kaleidoscopic mishmash, for as William Golding says, memories are not sequential.

> . . . For time is not to be laid out endlessly like a row of bricks. That straight line from the first hiccup to the last gasp is a dead thing. Time is two modes. The one is an effortless perception native to us as water to the mackerel. The other is a memory, a sense of shuffle fold and coil, of that day nearer than that because more important, of that element mirroring this, of those three set apart, exceptional and out of the straight line altogether.[8]

So what do I remember?

I remember–it is always first–the extended family, for, although we did not live in one house, we lived near each other and were in constant contact. I remember Great-grandma Reitz in floor-length black dresses and high-button shoes; in the depths of those black skirts were pockets full of peppermints. And when Grandma Reitz gave you a peppermint, even if you hated peppermints, you thanked her and enjoyed it very much, for Grandma Reitz lived in a doll's house surrounded by four-o'clocks and if you were good you could set your watch by the opening of the blossoms. And there was Great-grandpa Worster who smelled of wood and pipe tobacco and rewarded you with nickels for any vestige of German you could produce. Great-grandma Worster was a marvelously wrinkled old lady with whom we could not talk, for her English was less than minimal, but we communicated by smiles, always regretting our inabilities to reach this silent, workworn lady. Great-grandma Lebsack was senile by the time we knew her, but she told horribly marvelous tales about the "old country," for we great-grandchildren understood German (in self-defense, if we were to learn any of the "juicy" family doings at all), although we were forbidden to speak it. "You must be Americans!" my great-grandparents cried–to a man and to a woman, but they were misty-eyed when we recited German poems at the Children's Service on Christmas Eve.

But I also remember standing in the corner one whole afternoon in kindergarten for saying I had eight living grandparents. My teacher had to help me learn to refrain from exaggeration. Everyone I knew in those days believed that four grandparents was the maximum one child could have. Like generations of children before and since, I stood there, determined not to cry, uncertain as to whether I hated my grandparents for not conforming to the allotment or my teacher for not letting me explain.

I remember, too, the hated shopping trips when I functioned as interpreter. The salesladies' eyes always narrowed when one of my grandmothers spoke German to me. And when I got to junior high, I was always in a hurry on these trips, whizzing each poor old lady through the stores, trying to pop her back into her house again before my friends saw her and figured out that I was one of the "German" kids. It was also when I got to junior high school that I learned that the part of town in which we lived was referred to as the German "Bottom" by the rest of the city–just so we would know where we stood, I guess.

My Grandpa Strasheim was an early favorite in the family sweepstakes, first of all because he was a good and gentle man; second, because he had a marvelous grocery store full of goodies--cookie cases with plastic doors that opened so we could snack. "Eat the raisin cookies," he always said, "'cause they don't sell." He also separated cream and candled eggs, and we watched him lovingly by the hour. We ate what did not sell. To this day, I drink only Dr. Pepper when I have soft drinks, conditioned by my grandfather's, "Drink the Dr. Pepper. It doesn't sell." But sometimes I wonder if my Grandpa Strasheim was not my favorite for totally different reasons–if it was not because he had moved out of the Bottom, because his clothing was no different from other men's, because he had eliminated all trace of an accent in his English. I would like to believe he was a favorite on merit, but I do wonder.

I hated junior high school with a passion that only the preadolescent can feel. I hated it because the German kids had so many deficiencies from the elementary school in the Bottom. We had had no English grammar there and only the rudiments of mathematics, although the school was administered by the same wonderful folks who ran all the other city schools. Our junior high teachers always were surprised when we talked about going to high school. Most of the German kids did not get that far. When it came time to register for high school, the counselor tried to talk me out of a college prep curriculum and into a stenographic one. I can close my eyes and still see her face as she said, "Your people are going to want you to go to work as soon as you can, Lorraine. You know that." She also had the painful task of explaining to me that I had better not enroll in German; the German teacher did not like the German kids to enter her classes. As the counselor said, "They never last more than a semester." She persuaded me to take Latin, I suppose because it would help me in my future stenography.

My situation was not greatly enhanced, of course, by the fact that I grew up as a German American in the space between World War I and World War II. From the reaction of some of my peers, and some teachers, too, who had a certain way of looking at the German kid in the room while making patriotic speeches, I felt personally guilty for both Kaiser Wilhelm and Adolf Hitler. I was–although most people will not believe it today–very shy and very quiet all through high school and most of my undergraduate university days. German kids found it made life easier to melt into the wallpaper. My hatred of Hitler was a personal and malignant one; he had blighted a life which was not that wonderful before him.

World War II gave us the wherewithal to move out of the Bottom. To all intents and purposes, my experience as a hyphenated American terminated with my entry into university. The German department there welcomed me and kept shuffling my courses about because of my special skills in the language. But to this day, for good or evil, however painful it is to admit, I would still rather teach Latin or Russian than German. I have a love-hate relationship with that language which permeates every fiber of my being.

I have no blame to attribute to anyone. The city that lived on top of the German Bottom had been conditioned to its attitudes toward us by the kind of speeches made by Henry Cabot Lodge in 1888 and Theodore Roosevelt in 1915. Old habits die hard; the ethnic problem was obviously very much with us, for Roosevelt was very emphatic:

> There is no room in this country for hyphenated Americanism. . . . The one absolutely certain way of bringing this nation to ruin, of preventing all possibility of its continuing to be a nation at all, would be to permit it to become a tangle of squabbling nationalities.[9]

But no hyphenated American, in my day, inserted the hyphen himself. I thought I was like all other Americans until I began to hear of "German" kids and "your people." Lodge, upon whom Roosevelt may have built, shows an interesting dichotomy, for on the one hand he advocates honoring one's cultural heritage and on the other doing away with it:

> Let every man honor and love the land of his birth and the race from which he springs and keep their memory green. It is a pious and honorable duty. But let us have done with British-Americans and Irish-Americans and German-Americans, and so on, and all be Americans. . . . If a man is going to be an American at all let him be so without qualifying adjectives; and if he is going to be something else, let him drop the word American from his personal description.[9]

To this, all I can say is that we German kids kept leaping into the melting pot, but someone kept siphoning us out and returning us—figuratively, at least—to the Bottom. The situation facing me in the forties and the situation facing hyphenated American children today is still the same. Dickeman explains it:

> A choice thus confronts most American pupils from the moment they enter the classroom. Either they must betray family and heritage or they must settle for socioeconomic failure. How students respond to this crucial set of alternatives is, I believe, the most significant determinant of school performance, far outweighing such other variables as innate ability, linguistic background and pre-school environment. This choice forced upon the child clarifies the dropout phenomenon as a response to the educational process. The individual dropout is one who has refused to engage in the process of self-alienation. The reasons for such a decision are surely many. Some individuals are more likely than others to feel the demand for conformity as a personal violation. Some, with stronger family ties, may find it less easy to reject them. And of course the aspirations and rank of parents influence the degree of rejection demanded of the child. Some young people, involved more fully in the life of the community, may perceive earlier than others the degree to which the promised success will be ephemeral or unlikely. These, then, refuse, and state their refusal by withdrawing from the scene of emotional and philosophical conflict. This is, of course, an interactive process. The school communicates to the student the consequences of his failure, and he receives the message. "Pushout" is, as others have suggested, closer to the truth.[10]

How can it be a source of shame to enter school as a bilingual and a source of pride to become one through the school's foreign language department?

How can we attack the problem? As a start, all of us in the profession could begin by getting the word *bilingual* into more current usage, popularizing it, as it were. Bilingual education is not *compensatory*; bilingual education is not designed to remove *deficiencies*. Bilingual instruction is *individualization*. And every language instructor is turning out degrees of bilinguals every year as he teachers Spanish, German, French, Russian, or whatever, so let's tell our students that. Let's make monolingual a dirty word. Although I am nervous about slogans and slick advertising, I would like to see two bumper stickers developed: For 1975 I would like to see stickers that say: "Be bilingual by the Bicentennial. Learn ____________." The blank is to be filled, of course, with the names of the various languages. Then in 1976, I would like to see a bumper sticker that says: "Beep if you're bilingual!" and I would consider every noisy horn a kind of new Liberty Bell.

I would recommend debates in speech classes, in social studies classes, in English classes, *and* in foreign language classes. The question? "*Resolved: It is not un-American to be bilingual.*" If these debates are organized in the precise, thorough, and polished processes the true debater uses, the research will throw all the points to the affirmative. We must start making waves by posing the tough questions.

Elizabeth O. Pearson, suggesting teaching strategies in the 43rd *Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies, suggests one appropriate for the language class (and any other class you can influence):

> Student awareness of cultural conflict can be increased by making students more aware of their own feelings. The teacher can ask questions to which the students should respond privately. Questions such as the following should help students probe their own feelings without having to publicly state them:
>
> (a) How do you react when you hear someone speaking a foreign language?
> (b) How do you feel when a new student from a different cultural background is assigned to your classroom?
> (c) Are you aware of the presence of persons with a racial background different from yours? What do you think about when you recognize this awareness?
> (d) How do you feel when you are visiting someone with customs or traditions different from yours?
>
> These responses should be filed in a place where others will have no access to them. They may be taken out two or three months later so that students may note if their feelings have changed.[11]

I am afraid, in the welter of culture capsules, culture clusters, minidramas, culture assimilators, and audiomotor units, we too often forget Howard Nostrand's injunction to compare *three* different cultures instead of two—to avoid the superior-inferior pitfall. The best third culture you can add is an ethnic from the community, be he adult or student. This procedure, of course, probably would cut down the amount of material we can cover (and we do have our troubles giving up the "blanket" theory of instruction), but it would pay off. First of all, it would force teachers to learn about the ethnic groups in the school community. Second, it would get us exposure in the community. Third, it would bring the community into the school. Need I go on? Two or three such lessons by each language teacher per semester would do more for the language program *and* the community than all the slick slogans and promotions that could be devised.

For every hyphenated American who has ever been, is now, and will be, I would hope that our profession becomes active in the ethnic movement so that Langston Hughes' plea can become true:

O, let America be America again–
The land that never has been yet–
And yet must be.

Let America Be America Again (1938)

But the *professional* ethnic must also be involved in the America which "yet must be."

The Professional Ethnic Phenomenon

There are two types of what I have chosen to call professional ethnics. The first of these is a member of an ethnic group who imbues everything he does with his ethnicity, whose absorption with his ethnicity permeates, and may distort, each and every moment he lives, whose perspective is always filtered through his ethnicity. To him only one group, one problem exists. This type of professional ethnic still needs to learn the lesson James A. Banks learned from the authors of the 43rd *Yearbook* of the National Council for the Social Studies:

> From the time I was very young, I have had a keen interest in the problems and frustrations of Black Americans. Because of this interest, I have spent much of my career researching and writing in Black Studies. To some extent, I became so encapsulated with the plight of my people that I was blinded to the problems of other oppressed groups. I was unable to see the oppression of Blacks as an integral part of a larger problem shared by all exploited groups in America. I have learned a great deal from the authors of this book, most of whom I know personally and highly respect. They have helped me to broaden my perspective and to intensify my commitment to help make this a humane society. While I must still focus much of my energy on the problems of Black Americans for personal reasons, I now realize that Blacks will not be free until institutionalized oppression and racism–in all of their ugly and destructive forms–have been eradicated and power relationships in this nation have been radically modified.[12]

This type of professional ethnic needs to get his ethnicity into the larger perspective Michael Novak provides in *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics*:

> It is not my self-discovery that is of interest. The task is to discover what America is, or might yet be. No one, of course, can address that larger issue without coming to grips with his own ethnic particularity. No one ethnic group speaks for America. Each of us becomes aware of his own partial viewpoint. For it is in possessing our own particularity that we come to feel at home with ourselves and are best able to enter into communion with others, freely giving and receiving of each other. The point of becoming ethnically alert and self-possessed is not self-enclosure; it is genuine community, honest and un-pretending.[13]

The real need and thrust of the ethnic movement has to be to translate all these "partial viewpoints" into "genuine community" once "ethnic particularity" has been established–to translate these viewpoints both "lovingly and 'learningly,'" to use Gilbert Jarvis's term.[14]

The second type of professional ethnic is peculiar to our profession. This is that group of second language teachers who view every facet of their professional lives as Spanish-specific, Russian-specific, German-specific, Latin-specific, or whatever. These professional ethnics are particularly aware. And within their own ethnic particularities they are both active and communicating. It is the genuine community of all second language teachers that these people lack; they are, to continue to use Novak's terms, both "ethnically alert" and "self-possessed," but the end product for them has been "self-enclosure."

Just as the United States needs genuine community, our profession needs it. William Schaefer has defined our professional plight clearly:

> . . . But above all, what the foreign language profession needs at this time is a voice. It needs to be able to hear itself, know itself as a profession, as a viable and significant area of humanistic studies. Not just French, or German, or Spanish, but the foreign language "profession." At present the high school Spanish teacher in California sees no connection between his "field" and that of the college German instructor in Chicago or the Harvard professor of Oriental languages. But there is a connection; there has to be a connection.
>
> The failure of foreign language programs in America has in the past been vertical in nature, a lack of communication from the elementary school programs to the high schools and on up to the colleges and universities. This

> continues to be a failure, and the consequences are most serious. But I am also suggesting that there is no horizontal connection, no meaningful linkage from one language to another. What is needed in creating this "voice," this rationale, this new methodology, this vitalization of language programs, is a central organization within which parties can subordinate their special interests and through which they can work together with common aims.[15]

Frank Ryder also has addressed himself to the point that "there has to be a connection":

> Another way in which we as professionals establish our image and advance or retard our cause is through organizational structures. Foreign languages start with an inherent conflict of interest. We organize not only to represent our collective discipline in the world of other disciplines but also to further the parochial welfare of our particular language, in inevitable rivalry with other languages. . . . No obvious solution presents itself, yet destructive competition and blind parochialism must somehow be avoided. . . . Certain Draconian measures may be in order. I'm not sure the profession is ready for it or could afford it, but membership in an AAT could automatically carry with it membership in ACTFL—or AAT dues could be raised to fund some variant of the Joint National Committee of AAT's. . . . At least in getting together we might be able to stall off the kind of tong warfare that has erupted occasionally in our decorous midst.[16]

What evidence of professional parochialism do we have?

When Latin began to disappear from the curriculum, the teachers of "modern" languages could rationalize away that loss. "Latin is an *ancient* language; it probably never has *really* belonged." "Students don't *use* the language; you cannot *communicate* in Latin." "Latin isn't *relevant*." "You can't *get jobs* with Latin." The rest of us attended our Spanish and French and German meetings in complacency. Are we all going to continue to attend our language-specific meetings complacently, leaving French to face its current crisis alone? Will we be able to rationalize away *this one*? Or do all the rationalizations this time hit terribly close to home? Will we merely accelerate our language-specific approaches to the public, governments, and administrators as the Tower of Babel diminishes language by language?

Our parochialism is so well defined that teachers of different languages within the same school often do not really communicate, much less cooperate. To address ourselves to that problem, Robert Lafayette and

I, in the Indiana University methods courses, have been formulating small-group units that compel the students of various languages to work together. It is a small effort in the direction of developing one voice, a genuine community. One of our units and a student product of that unit appeared in the insert of the February 1975 *Accent on ACTFL* under the title "ACTFL's Accent on Promoting Foreign Languages." Unless we learn to communicate and cooperate horizontally, unless human relations come to the profession, all our efforts toward human relations in the classroom will come to little more than isolated pockets of work in this area.

To establish a genuine community, a profession of second language teachers, each and every one of us should follow William Riley Parker's advice: "Appoint *yourself** a nucleus. . . . Get to work on the foundation before the edifice falls." Keep to your "ethnic particularity" by joining the AAT of your persuasion. Then urge your AAT to work toward establishing a joint membership with ACTFL, the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages. Then join ACTFL and urge it to establish a joint membership with the AAT's. You must belong to both in order to effect the community for which we are striving (And no laments, please, about the costs. The average coal miner, plumber, or teamster pays these dues in a month.) Then deluge ACTFL with letters to the effect that you want ACTFL to work on responses to some questions posed by F. André Paquette:

1. Can foreign language teachers assess their resources–financial, publishing, and manpower–at the local, state, and national levels; can they consolidate and organize them?
2. Can they give their forces new, vibrant, and vital direction?
3. Who speaks to the public for foreign language teachers?
4. Who will plead the cause of the humanities before our national assemblies?[18]

If every person at Central States were to write those letters, joining the AAT of his choice and ACTFL, the movement would be launched. We would be well on our way to a genuine community in the profession, ready at last to sell language study first, specific language study second.

If the connection is made, a French high school teacher in Iowa, a Russian professor in Texas, a teacher in a bilingual program in Florida, and a German FLES teacher in New York will be able to say—one *of* the other or *to* the other:

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*Italics this author's.

> What are you to me?
> You are my faith renewed
> Lost through the years.
> Yet now by faith imbued,
> I cease my fears.
>
> What are you to me?
> A heart so quick and true
> That my own heart,
> Inured, is stirred anew
> To do its part.
>
> What are you to me?
> A strong, young source of power,
> Who, with no strife,
> But bringing seed to flower,
> Infuses life.
> PEARL BUCK[19]

The Ethnics by Attraction

While the social movements in this country have, by and large, focused on the discrimination and cultural assaults experienced by the nonwhite American, equal opportunities to participate in the open society to which we aspire must be extended to all the diverse ethnic, cultural, and social class groups. It is thus *by attraction* that women are subsumed in ethnic studies.

I shall not belabor the issue of women at great length, but there is truth to Novak's assertion:

> There must be countless women in America who have known for years that something is peculiarly unfair, yet who only recently have found it possible, because of women's liberation, to give tongue to their pain. In recent months I have experienced a similar inner thaw, a gradual relaxation, a willingness to think about feelings heretofore shepherded out of sight.[20]

It is my strong feeling, as an ethnic by attraction—that is, a woman—that we must learn to deal with one another—men and women of the cultures we are studying and men and women of all the diverse ethnic, cultural, and social class groups of our own society—in terms of Gene Hoffman's statement that serves me as a credo.

> . . . I don't want equality with men, or anybody else. I want something much more. I want recognition of my value and uniqueness as a person—not as a woman. I want opportunity to perform creative work. I want to be listened to in any council *for which I have prepared myself.* I want full freedom, and cooperation to evolve as a human being, to gain wisdom and knowledge. To be sure, I want certain rights guaranteed to me, not because I am a woman, but because I am a human being. Whatever is agreed upon as proper to *people* should be mine.[21]

I value this statement on women more than any other I know, but I would make one change in it: I would prefer that final statement to read: "Whatever is agreed upon as proper to *people* should be yours and mine."

For those of us who are ethnics by attraction, there is a challenge in the language classroom. This means that the French woman is represented only partially by the fashion model; we must learn to include the French libber as well. We shall have to expand our sights beyond the rooms of the house, cooking, and the style show—into the racing pits and the factory. We must learn to discuss the life-styles of all the social classes, life from the perspective of the servant as well as the served. We have to accept the fact that a family is not necessarily composed of a father, a mother, a son, a daughter, and an infant; sometimes a family consists of a mother and two sons, sometimes a father, daughter, and a grandmother. "Woman" does not necessarily equal "mother" or "secretary." If women do not wish to be stereotyped, we must stop engaging in stereotyping ourselves for the sake of both the girls *and* the boys we teach. If I am conscious of my *self*, I also must be conscious of all those other selves in the classroom.

John H. Fisher in his speech "Languages and Loyalty" postulated his belief that language teaching is "the most psychologically complex activity in the educational spectrum," saying:

> . . . Language is the chalice in which we carry our identities. When I am talking to English teachers, I remind them that every theme they correct is an exercise in psychoanalysis. When we criticize the way Johhny expresses himself, or spells, or punctuates, we are attacking the hidden depths where

> Johnny lives. As editor of *PMLA*, I can tell you that no scholar ever grows so distinguished or so sophisticated that he is not tender about his writing.
>
> And the problem of the foreign language teacher is a hundred times more complex than that of the teacher of the native language. Not only is he trying to make Johnny "be" himself in Spanish or Russian, but he is perforce involved in the whole problem of cultural loyalties. If he praises anything Spanish or Russian, he is covertly attacking American culture. On the other hand, if he denigrates anything in the foreign culture as he teaches the language, he raises a large question in the student's mind as to why the foreign language itself should be studied.[22]

Fisher suggests that "what seems . . . to be missing is the *comparative* aspect," so that "a person may begin dimly to perceive that his particular language and his consciousness as a human being are not necessarily identical" in an ultimate effort to develop an objectivity to his reactions and the reactions of others "to undergird the *theoretical* cultural analyses of his monolingual courses in sociology and history."[23] Our cultural studies in the classroom also require that comparative aspect among the lifestyles of women and men within the countries that speak the language. We can no longer use one woman or one boy to represent all women or all boys in the target culture. If we could use an ethnic group to provide Nostrand's third culture, we just might provide the humanizing experience we keep saying is there.

That humanizing experience, however, is not automatically present in language learning, any more than it is in native bilingualism. As Fisher warns: "A person may be as narrow and rigid and self-centered in a dozen languages as in one."[24] The language classroom provides an exceptional environment for cultural analysis and the development of cultural sensitivity, but the teacher must become culturally sophisticated and create opportunities for this type of growth in his/her classroom. All the kinesics that can be catalogued will be of little use if we cannot learn to hold out our hands—in welcome—to every man. There is no room in humanizing instruction for the German teacher who has no room in her classroom for German speaking students; there is no room in humanizing instruction either for the teacher of Russian who denigrates all other languages in the curriculum.

The Multiethnic

When I accepted this assignment, I had an ill-defined plan to discuss my ethnic origins briefly and then turn to some techniques for humanizing instruction. It was with Swinburne's "superflux of pain," however, that I reexamined my hyphenated American status as a third-generation offspring of parents who were themselves born in this country. I had to come to grips, too, with the fact that I am a professional ethnic three times over—as a German teacher, a Latin teacher, and a Russian teacher. And the accident of gender, according to my social science colleagues, makes me an ethnic by attraction. I am a self made up of all these ethnicities and hundreds of experiences I cannot catalog; I am, therefore, at best, a *multiethnic.* And so I learned what I should have known—no one is simply just one thing. What started out to be another exercise in jargon, another bandwagon to leap upon, slowly became something deeper. I want every person to find his ethnic particularity and, in that process, to find genuine community—in our profession and in our country. I desperately want a United States in which it is not un-American to be bilingual—by birth or through second language learning.

Notes

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2. Michael Novak, *The Rise of the Unmeltable Ethnics* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1971, 1972), pp. 47-48.
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4. Mildred Dickeman, "Teaching Cultural Pluralism," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, edited by James A. Banks (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 6.
5. F. André Paquette, "A Measure of Hope," *Foreign Language Annals*, 2 (May, 1969): 434.
6. John Barth, "The Remobilization of Jacob Horner," in *How We Live, Contemporary Life in Contemporary Fiction*, edited by Penny Chapin Hills and L. Rust Hills (New York: Macmillan Co., 1968), p. 33.
7. Michael Novak, *op. cit.*, p. 53.
8. William Golding, *Free Fall* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1959), p. 6.
9. Both the Lodge and Roosevelt quotations are taken from the 14th Edition of *Bartlett's Familiar Quotations.*
10. Mildred Dickeman, *op. cit.*, p. 15.
11. Elizabeth O. Pearson, "Suggested Teaching Strategies," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, edited by James A. Banks (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), p. 248.
12. James A. Banks, "Introduction," in *Teaching Ethnic Studies*, edited by James A. Banks (Washington, D.C.: National Council for the Social Studies, 1973), pp. xi-xii.

13. Michael Novak, "Preface," *op. cit.*, p. xvi.
14. Gilbert A. Jarvis, "What *Really* Comes from Studying a Foreign Language," (Keynote address to the Virigina State Conference of Foreign Language Teachers, Roanoke, Virginia, October 5, 1974). [Mimeograph]
15. William D. Schaefer, "The Plight and Future of Foreign Language Learning in America," *Bulletin of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages* 3 (March 1972): 7.
16. Frank G. Ryder, "A Matter of Image," *Bulletin of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages* 5 (November 1973): 9.
17. William Riley Parker, "Foreword, Guidelines for Teacher Education Programs in Modern Foreign Languages–an Exposition," *The Modern Language Journal*, L (October 1966): 2.
18. F. André Paquette, *op. cit.*, pp. 434-35.
19. Pearl S. Buck, *Words of Love* (New York: John Day Co., 1974), p. 15.
20. Michael Novak, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-53.
21. Gene Hoffman, "Sexual Equality Is Not the Issue," in *Dialogue on Women*, edited by Robert Theobald (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1967), p. 96.
22. John H. Fisher, "Languages and Loyalty," *Bulletin of the Association of Departments of Foreign Languages* 2 (September 1970): 15.
23. *Ibid.*
24. *Ibid.*, pp. 15-16.

2

The Analysis of Language and Familiar Cultures

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The student who learns to look closely at a foreign culture with friendly understanding gradually makes the important discovery that he himself lives in a culture too. When the study of a foreign language is amplified suitably with a cultural dimension, it thus can contribute in a direct way to our perception of the culture in which we ourselves live.

As we who teach foreign languages couple the teaching of culture with our present task, we need to remind ourselves of what this implies in terms of attitudes, insights, and activities. We shall not only need to be *courageous*—for there are no tried procedures, only proposals and promising uncertainties—but also to be *well informed*. Among other things, this calls for direct contact with native speakers of the target language, for visits and returns to the foreign country, and for some acquaintance with the ways in which the social scientists study culture. Indeed, teachers will need to be *bivisual*, seeing the new culture both with the eye of the scientist and the eye of the humanist. How do these differ? The scientist tends to quantify, to be objective, comprehensive, nonjudging, uninvolved. The humanist, on the other hand, tends to be warmly sympathetic, evaluative, and emotionally responsive. The scientist seeks the interplay of facts, while the humanist seeks the drama of the spirit. Both views should contribute to the learner's introduction to a new culture.

Teachers will need to be *honest* about what totality means in cultural studies. Naturally, the student will find in a new culture things that are both good and bad, agreeable and unpleasant, beautiful and ugly. It would be folly to pretend otherwise. Yet, while we may recognize the presence of what is unlovely, we have no need to dwell upon it. As we approach a new culture, we shall need to be *judicious*, recognizing that certain subjects should be treated gingerly, such as sex, religion, and politics. Yet to leave them out would be to vacate our responsiblity. Admitting that our treatment of culture can be only partial, it still can be accurate and valid within the limits that good judgment permits.

Teachers will need to be both *practical* and *perceptive*, relating the noble goal of international understanding directly to what happens in our classrooms, and learning to see the evidences of culture with which we are all surrounded. Learning to distinguish between what is current and ephemeral on the one hand, and what is recurrent and ingrained on the other.

Those who teach foreign languages are entitled to be *high-minded* about their opportunity to make the term "liberal education" meaningful for their students. Insights into another culture can help to free the monolingual from the confines of the single life-way he has known thus far. Finally, foreign language teachers will need to be *themselves*, relating their work in culture to similar activities in adjacent fields, but with an intent firmly fixed on their assignment as teachers of language, with skills to inculcate as well as insights. Above all, it is they who must decide what to ask for and to accept from neighboring fields of study such as psychology, linguistics, anthropology, and sociology.

Defining Culture

We have been using the word "culture" as if there were general agreement about its meaning and conformity in its use. But this is not so, and we should pause to clarify and define.[1] Of the several meanings of culture, two are of major importance for us: culture as *everything* in human life, and culture as the *best* of everything in human life. How shall we distinguish between these obviously different meanings? For want of better terms, we may refer to the best—which of course includes music, letters, and arts—as Culture MLA, while the *all*—which includes such basics as belief, behavior and values—we may call Culture BBV. In the present discussion our attention will center principally upon Culture BBV, although this emphasis implies no lack of interest in or support of Culture MLA.

A first distinction our analysis should observe concerns geography and history. Geography is the study of an earth that is known to be at least three billion years old—far older than culture. History is the study of humanity through written records; these do not go back more than five or six thousand years, and culture, we may be sure, is far older than that. Thus, although history and geography are valuable aids in the study of culture, the limits of their contributions should be recognized.

Our analysis also will be aided if we distinguish clearly between cultural studies and sociology. Sociology is essentially the study of human groups, small, as in the family, and large, as in a political party or a religious denomination. Culture, in contrast, is above all interested in the individual, in his assuming and maintaining the attitudes, values, and way of life of those with whom he spends his formative years. Sociology sees the crowd, culture sees the Dickenslike individual in the crowd.

The most difficult distinction we shall have to make is between culture and civilization. Even though our attempts may seem labored and somewhat arbitrary, we are likely to find that the result will be worth the effort. In order to minimize the confusion surrounding these two terms, we may establish three ground rules: (1) that we are dealing with English words only, and not with their cognates in kindred languages; (2) that we refrain from using either of these words in place of the other, a common practice among the best of authors; and (3) that we are making this distinction for use by foreign language teachers and students rather than for the academic world in general.

Can we properly word a definition of each of these terms that will make the differentiation clear? Here is an attempt to do so:

Culture is the distinctive life-way of a people, whether tribesmen, townsmen, or urbanites, who are united by a common language. The dual nature of culture links the thoughts and acts of the individual to the common patterns acceptable to the group. The community provides rules and models for belief and behavior, and these cannot be disregarded by the individual without penalty. The totality of the culture is the pervading medium that gives meaning to each individual's acts, yet his capacity for innovation, choice and rejection is never forgotten.

Civilization is the flowering of the cultural life-way of a people into varied and refined patterns of thought, belief, action, and aesthetic expression that offer wide scope for the perfecting of individual talent and for involved and highly integrated achievement through joint communal effort. Grafted upon culture, civilization tends to enrich the existence of all members of the community, but it also tends to permit the exploitation of the weak by the strong.

Putting the matter in less concentrated form, we may distinguish between culture and civilization as follows: Culture began when language began, and this could have been more than a million years ago;[2] civilization began when agriculture began, not more than a few thousand years ago. The opposite of culture is death and annihilation; the opposite of civilization barbary and savagery. Culture accompanies us as constantly as the air we breathe; civilization is a height we rise to, a temporary stance we assume. Cultural changes usually come about only slowly unless or until the culture is destroyed; civilization can disintegrate quickly into anarchy. Culture establishes our emotional bonds, our beliefs, and our prejudices. Civilization leads us to intellectual development, to decency and decorum; it encourages freedom of thought and expression and the relinquishing of too limiting restraints. In culture, the supernatural plays an important, often dominant role; civilization's encouragement of intellectual analysis tends toward an estimate of truth that agrees with what can be experienced by ordinary means.

Basic Concepts

With these definitions and distinctions in mind we may now list a number of basic concepts that can then be explored in some detail. These concepts are:

1. The cultural field and the cultural island
2. Duality in culture
3. Awareness as a factor in culture
4. Culture and the pragmatics of language

5. Cultural elements, nodes, and parameters.

1. *The cultural field.* A culture generates within its boundaries a field that, like an electrical field, has a detectable effect upon all within it. This is especially true of the learning and practice of the patterns of thought and behavior that are typical of it. The transplanting of the essential character of a cultural field to a place that is geographically distant is not only possible but common. Such cultural islands are to be found in many cities and distinct areas in the United States.

2. *Duality.* Duality may be discovered in culture in a number of different ways. Among these are the following:

(a) Variance/Invariance
(b) Self/Surroundings
(c) Personal/Institutional
(d) Verbal/Nonverbal
(e) Warp/Woof
(f) Formal/Deep

VARIANCE/INVARIANCE. When we observe the ongoing trend of human affairs, the discernment of what is steady and what is changing is not always easy. With each new day, life seems to be different. Yet in culture, although everything may appear to be in flux, there are important matters that remain relatively fixed. For example, the pronunciation of the native language and the modes of friendship and of fair play show a stability that is not to be observed in the hem line or in popular slang.

SELF/SURROUNDINGS. The self into which each living creature develops is determined largely by his genetic inheritance: the bird is born to fly, the beaver to build a dam, the human being to talk. Only removal from normal surroundings can prevent such outcomes from taking place. But what the self eventually becomes also is the result of the circumstances in which the individual matures. This interplay of self and surroundings is significant especially for human beings, for we have perfected through evolution a capacity to develop in astonishingly different ways, ways related less to our physiological inheritance and far more to our environment. This shaping of the self into a specific and predictable mold is the essence of what is meant by culture. "Culture," says Clifford Geertz, "provides the link between what men are intrinsically capable of becoming and what they actually, one by one, in fact become."[3]

PERSONAL/INSTITUTIONAL. As the self develops, each of us acquires a distinct personality; as the social group to which we belong has developed, it too has attained a specific character that stands out in its various institutions. Our analysis should focus in part on that which is distinctly personal, in part on that which is institutional, and at the same time on areas where the two interact, noting especially the conformity that institutions demand of each individual.

VERBAL/NONVERBAL. A culture is characterized by the way people speak, what they wear, eat, believe in, respect, enjoy, and are willing to die for. Language is but one of many cultural features but it is the most typical and exacting and it permeates all other areas of thought and action. What is more Italian than Italian, more Japanese than Japanese? To eat foreign food or to wear foreign clothing is relatively easy, but to qualify as a native speaker, the nonnative faces an exacting task.

WARP/WOOF. In a fabric the fixed threads that run lengthwise are called the warp, the cross threads that shuttle back and forth from side to side are called the woof. Considered as a fabric, the warp strands of human culture tend to be surprisingly similar the world over. It is the crossing threads of the woof that give color, variety, difference. Some cultures are relatively simple and of modest dimensions, like a piece of wampum. Others are very extensive and complicated, like a Persian rug. But the basic notion of warp and woof remains constant.

FORMAL/DEEP. Culture may be resolved into two distinct and complementary areas that we may term formal and deep. Formal culture relates the individual to the wide range of aesthetic expression we have called Culture MLA, which includes literature, music, painting, the dance, architecture, and artistry in whatever form. It relates him as well to the various manifestations of institutional life, such as infant baptism, birthday celebrations, weddings, the awarding of diplomas and of academic degrees, and appointments, elections, and personal citations of many kinds. Deep culture has a quite different aspect. It is the slow, persistent, lifelong process that gradually molds the self into its permanent identity. There is no naming of the individual, no focusing of public attention on private behavior. There is almost no awareness that the process is taking place, yet it is this accommodation of the self to the speech, manners, and thought of those around him that leads an observer to say: "How Russian!" or "How English!" or "How French!"

3. *Awareness.* The conscious recognition of what we are is a human attribute that we do not share with our dog. A number of years of life are required before awareness sets in, and even then it comes and goes, becoming keener in some directions and remaining undeveloped in others. Lack of awareness is shown, for example, in the way speakers of English pronounce a final "-p," or in what we Americans do with a piece of pie before taking the first bite.* Although awareness is an important positive factor in formal culture, much if not most of what happens in deep culture is beneath the threshold of normal perception. Awareness of detail is far easier for the observer of a foreign culture than for the person who views his own. A most desirable outcome of the study of another culture is the degree of self-knowledge it can ultimately afford.

4. *The pragmatics of language*[4]. We who teach foreign languages and who now propose also to teach culture may well be asked–indeed may well ask ourselves–at what point do language and culture come together? The answer is almost too obvious to be stated: in *meaning*. For sound waves in the air stirred up by the voice, and black marks marching across the page are not in themselves what we are interested in. Our concern is what these things mean. And what language means is none other than the thoughts and acts, the emotions and the surroundings of those whose language it is. Language fits together and operates in an intricate fashion we call syntactics; it has the capacity to signify and symbolize, which we call semantics. But it is not until a speaker or a writer actually uses language to send a message or to receive one that we come to the pragmatics of language, its fulfillment in actuality. A dictionary can hardly serve as a love letter, although all the necessary words are found in its pages. In order to understand fully the nature and function of language we must turn to culture. And in order to understand fully any given culture we need not only to know but to make use of the language that is the coin of its societal system. So intimate is the interrelation between culture and language that we can perceive it showing through even in syntactics. As we use language, it is culture that dictates the distinctions we are to make between masculine and feminine (or neuter), between animate and

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*Before most Americans eat a piece of pie, they make sure that the point of the pie is facing them.

inanimate, one and many, intimate and courteous, fact and fancy, for voice or for print. In every case the overriding concern is for what language is intended to mean. And that, for the most part, is not language itself but what it represents.

5. *Elements, nodes, and parameters.* We come now to three terms that need an explanation before we can put them to use in our analysis. First the cultural *element*, a concept suggested by anthropologists. Examples of cultural elements are: a word, a tool, a handshake, a food, a vehicle, a dance, a bracelet, a myth. In a relatively simple or primitive culture there may be only a few thousand elements, while in a culture like ours they may be counted in the millions. Second, the cultural *node*. The word means a knot, and the concept identifies a focal point at which two or more elements come together, especially as they relate the individual to the social group. Examples of nodes: names, games, cleanliness, rewards, punishments, old-young relationships, levels of language. An inventory of nodes can of course be very lengthy; it provides a useful source of suggested situations in which both language and culture play an important role. Third, the *parameters* of culture. A parameter is a constant that has a given value in one context but a different one in another. Consider the musical note A above middle C as written in the treble clef. This note, when played on the piano, produces one result, when played on the violin, a different one, and when sung by the human voice, still another. Yet the pitch, 440 cycles per second, remains the same. An example of a cultural parameter is the role of marriage in various cultures. Marriage occurs in all cultures, but whom one may marry (or not marry), when, and how, are matters that differ widely from one culture to another. An inventory of cultural parameters can give us a single instrument that can be employed in different situations and in different cultures.

Asking the Right Questions

Let us turn from what is principally theoretical to something more practical. What questions could we ask our students (or indeed ourselves) to bring out the distinction between personal and institutional aspects, between culture and civilization? What would a suggested inventory of cultural nodes contain? What would be included in a list of cultural parameters? Can we cite examples to show the distinction between what is cultural and what is civilized?

Here is a list of questions that will serve to highlight the *individual* aspect of culture:

1. By what different names are you called?
2. How well do you speak your mother tongue?
3. How do you think and feel about your family?
4. How do you tell right from wrong?
5. What are you superstitious about?
6. How do you appear in public?
7. How do you act toward a stranger?
8. How do you treat your guests?
9. How do you view the opposite sex?
10. How do you answer a child's questions about God, birth, sex, and myth?
11. Of what organizations are you a member?
12. What do you like best and least?
13. How do you look upon minority groups?
14. What are you proudest of and most ashamed of?
15. What is your greatest ambition, your chief regret?

In contrast, this list of questions will serve to bring out the *institutional* aspect of culture:

1. What schools and colleges can you go to?
2. Under what system of government do you live?
3. What laws must you obey? Who makes them?
4. What churches or religious organizations may you join?
5. What medical services are available to you?
6. What publications can you buy?
7. How do you send and receive messages?
8. What is the money system you use?
9. How can you earn, spend, save money?
10. How do you get from place to place?
11. What must you obtain a license for?
12. What military organizations may you or must you serve in?
13. At what age can you vote?
14. What public recreational facilities are available to you?
15. For what do you get your name in the papers?

Interaction of Individual and Institutional Aspects

With the individual/institutional duality in mind, we may look at various areas of encounter in which the two interact. As we have suggested, the term *node* can be used to identify times, places, attitudes, and circumstances in which self and surroundings come in contact. A look at the selection of typical nodes listed below will enable us to see how the enculturating process works. They encapsulate the kinds of interplay that we should become sensitized to and alert our students to in the study of culture.

Cultural Nodes

Points of contact between self and others

authority
pledges & promises
secrets, loyalty, & honor
permissions
neatness & cleanliness
names
what to wear
honesty & cheating
fair play
patriotism
politeness, chivalry, & grace
laughter & tears
handshakes, hugs, & kisses
make-up, hair-do, wigs, & whiskers
wallets & handbags
jewelry, ornaments, & insignia
mealtime
squabbles, insults, slaps, kicks, & blows
mad at & making up
the language of vehemence, endearment, & abuse
apologies
on speaking terms
punishments & penalties
giving & receiving presents
letters
hobbies
anniversaries
the sabbath
holidays
accidents & illness
smoking, matches, & fire
textbooks, homework, tests, & grades
classical music, painting, & poetry
competitions, prizes, & honors
baby-sitting
chores & odd jobs
getting a job
money: earning, spending, & saving
clubs
dancing
parties & outings
games: indoor & outdoor
radio, records, & TV
pets & domestic animals
nature: wild & in the zoo
films & plays
athletics & sports
hiking, fishing, & camping
skates & skis
dates & going steady
engagements & weddings
crossing the street
in the store
bikes & scooters
licenses
military service
parades
vacation travel
rap sessions
choosing a career

If we move from these closeup views of culture to a somewhat higher level of abstraction, we may set up an inventory of parameters, adaptable for use in analyzing a foreign culture as well as our own, and emphasizing on the one hand what is personal, and on the other what is institutional.

Parameters
for the analysis of culture

Culture (personal)

- presence (how we stand, walk, etc.)
- language
- gesture
- time-concept
- space-concept
- bonding (emotional attachments)
- learning
- health
- resilience
- spirit
- play & leisure
- ethics
- aesthetics & humor
- values
- religion
- heroes & myths
- sex roles
- tabu
- grooming
- ownership
- subsistence (earning a living)
- authority & precedence
- ceremony
- rewards & privileges
- rights & duties

Civilization (institutional)

- education
- church
- politics
- government
- military
- medicine
- law
- business & trade
- industry
- banks & money
- theatre, cinema, dance
- literature
- music & art
- museums & exhibitions
- historical monuments
- society (classes)
- printed word
- broadcasting
- sports & public recreation
- hospitals & jails
- communication
- transportation
- taxes & insurance
- technology
- ecology (relationship to the environment)

In considering the preceding lists, one sees at once that reference to two headings may be necessary in order to treat a single item of concern; for example, learning and education, health and medicine, ethics and law, play and sports, religion and church. But this only serves to emphasize the dual aspect of cultural themes.

Levels of Cultural Content

In any study of human behavior we should not overlook the fact that our subjects are animals who, like all others, must eat and play and sleep, protect themselves against the weather, and somehow get along with one another. It is when actions and reactions take on an increment of meaning that culture enters the picture. A good marker for this dividing line is the difference between a blink and a wink. We all blink, constantly, to keep our eyes in working order. But when we wink, more than physiology is involved. A meaningful message is riding on the fluttered eyelid—culture is at work.

Our analysis would lead us to conclude that any situation or phenomenon that we might participate in or be in the presence of would reveal upon inspection three different levels of content: animal, cultural, and civilized. To put this suggestion to the test, consider the following:

A Boy Scout campfire
A fox hunt
A football game
A Thanksgiving dinner
Leonardo's Mona Lisa
A poem by Emily Dickinson
A game of chess
A string quartet

There is neither time nor space to analyze each of these in detail, yet we may easily see that the animal factor in the fox hunt and the football game is not minimal, that the cultural factor in the campfire and the Thanksgiving dinner is probably the most important, and that in the chess game and the string quartet the civilized element is surely dominant.

The above lists may be useful in the following ways:

1. As an introduction (for teachers and students alike) to what the study of culture is all about
2. As checklists in the writing of materials, the outlining of courses, and the preparation of individual classes
3. As a means of estimating the cultural content of a language text, a reading text, or of materials designed expressly for cultural studies.

Conclusion

The analysis we have made reveals the fact that we, as foreign language teachers, no longer can think of culture as being restricted to the various modes of artistic expression, whether literature or painting, sculpture or architecture, the theatre or the dance. Culture is all of these, but more—much more. One may ask why in our analysis so much emphasis has been placed upon Culture BBV and so little upon Culture MLA and civilization. The answer does not reflect relative importance, but is rather this: the institutional and artistic facets of societal life are fairly easy to get at, are generally well treated in cultural studies, and are quite within the awareness of nearly everybody. The personal side of culture, on the contrary, continues to remain elusive, often is deeply hidden from the community members themselves, and its study still continues to be unsystematic. Yet this aspect of culture is absolutely basic to an understanding of what makes us what we are, what makes a Frenchman French, an Indian an Indian, or a Yankee a Yankee. Above all, it is replete with the kind of information most likely to catch and retain the attention of our students.

Notes

1. For further comments on the several meanings of the word culture, see Nelson Brooks, "Teaching Culture in the Foreign Language Classroom," *Foreign Language Annals* 1 (March 1968): 211-12.
2. See Harry Hoijer, "Language and Writing," in *Man, Culture, and Society*, edited by Harry L. Shapiro (New York: Oxford University Press, 1956), pp. 196-98. See also Jacques Monod, *Chance and Necessity* (New York: Knopf, 1971), pp. 160-62.
3. Clifford Geertz, *The Interpretation of Cultures* (New York: Basic Books, 1973), p. 52.
4. See George A. Miller, "Language and Psychology," in *New Directions in the Study of Language*, edited by Eric Lenneberg (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1964), pp. 91-94.

Suggested Readings

Benedict, Ruth. *Patterns of Culture*. New York: New American Library, Mentor, 1959. An analysis of our society as related to primitive cultures.

Kluckhohn, Clyde. *Mirror for Man*. New York: McGraw-Hill, 1957. An introduction to modern anthropology.

Mead, Margaret. *Growing Up in New Guinea*. New York: New American Library, Mentor, 1953. A study of primitive culture.

Shapiro, Harry L., ed. *Man, Culture, and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1956. A compilation of recent and contemporary writings on culture.

3

Linguistic Diversity in the Classroom

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> **"What it is! What it is!"**
> **"It bees dat way sometime."**
> **"That cat name Shaft is a bad mother–Hush yo mouf!"**
> **"Can't nobody never do nothin in Mr. Smith class."**
> **"At least my momma don't buy her furniture from the Good Will!"**
> **"I come here today to testify what the Lord done did for me."**

What it is! What is it? It is the voice of black America, variously labeled Black English, black dialect, black idiom, or recently, *ebonics*, a term coined by a group of black linguists (ebony for black, phonics for sound–ergo ebonics, the black sound). Black writer Claude Brown, author of *Manchild in the Promised Land*, called it the "Language of Soul." White writer Norman Mailer named it the "Language of Hip." Some folk, like black poetess Nikki Giovanni, refer to it as just plain black talk.

Before about 1959 (when the first study was done on changing black speech patterns[1]), Black English had been mainly a subject of highly specialized study by historical linguists and cultural anthropologists, with the central quest being to ascertain whether the dialect was West African or Anglo-Saxon in origin. In recent years, however, the issue has become a popular controversy, and articles on Black English have appeared in the national press as well as in educational research literature. We have had pronouncements on black speech from the NAACP and the Black Panthers; from highly publicized scholars of the Arthur Jensen, William Shockley bent; from executives of such national corporations as Greyhound; from housewives and community folk—I mean, really, it seem like everybody and they momma done had something to say 'bout it!

Forces of Concern

Concern over the speech of Blacks and educational programs to effectuate dialect eradication were generated by two major forces. First, there were the social change movements (or upheavals—depending on where you comin from) of the sixties, spearheaded by the 1954 Supreme Court school desegregation decision, followed by the 1955 refusal of black Rosa Parks to move to the back of the bus; and the emergence of Martin Luther King and the civil rights thrust, followed by Black Power and the Black Cultural Consciousness Movement. The second major force was embodied in white America's attempt to deal with this newly released black energy by the implementation of poverty programs, educational and linguistic remediation projects, sociolinguistic research programs, and various other up-from-the-ghetto "Great Society" type efforts. As we all know, these two forces have not acted in concert. While Blacks were shouting "I'm black and I'm proud," Anglos were admonishing them to "be like us" and enter the mainstream. While there were black orators, creative artists, and yes, even scholars rapping in the "black thang," educators (some of them black, admittedly) were preaching the gospel that black English speakers must learn to talk like white English speakers in order to "make it."

And it was not only in black America that linguistic diversity and sociocultural realities converged (collided?). For a similar set of circumstances was created by the call to power of Native Americans and Latinos. Addressing the situation of the Cherokee community in Oklahoma, Tax and Thomas found that:

> . . . Whites saw the Cherokee language as standing in the way of the "progress" of Cherokees. They brought pressure to bear on the Cherokee community, including many aspects of it which are most symbolic to the Chero-

> kee—and none is more so than the latter's own language.[2]

In a discussion of Spanish speaking Americans, Rodriguez argued:

> . . . To label the Mexican-American "disadvantaged" . . . suggested that some means must be developed to lift the Chicano from the depth of his economic, social, educational and political deprevation. . . . Both the economic and the educational community was guilty of this destructive approach. These efforts were another in a long line of activities basically designed to assimilate a people into the dominant culture. . . . Cultural and language diversities are no shackles that must be stripped off before a full partnership in the American Society can be attained.[3]

In coping with "linguistic diversity in the classroom," teachers of English, foreign languages, and the general language arts must address the historical and cultural conditions that have sustained this diversity. And they should be informed of the sociopolitical development of so-called "standard" English and concomitant forces aimed at eradicating linguistic diversity.

It is true that most of the contemporary "sound and fury" surrounding bilingual, bicultural education has focused on the language behavior of Blacks, Latinos, and Native Americans. However, traditionally, there has always been a significant social dimension undergirding the racial component that throws the whole question of linguistic diversity into a wider realm that ultimately affects Anglos. For, historically, language has been a tool of oppression wielded against other social and ethnic groups. Anyone familiar with Mark Twain's masterpiece *Huckleberry Finn* can recall that Huck's rebellion against the Slavocracy is foreshadowed early by his resistance to corrections of his Pike County Missouri dialect. What linguist Donald Lloyd has labeled the "national mania for correctness" stems from a long-standing tradition of elitism and ethnocentricism in American life and language matters.

Development of Standard English

Language conventions and the English grammar handbooks—which anyone who passes through the American educational system is exposed to—are based on a preoccupation with the all-engrossing question "What is correct English?" Not: What is dynamic and vivid language? Not: What is contextually appropriate language? Not even: What is truthful language? But simply: What is correct language? Such up-tight language attitudes, which are fostered in the schools, are grounded in the "doctrine of correctness" that emerged during the 18th century. The correctness obsession was a logical consequence of the coming to power of the "primitive" middle classes and the decline of the "refined" aristocracy in post-middle ages Europe. Whereas Latin had enjoyed centuries of prestigious use and admiration, the Roman Empire had, after all, declined, and practical considerations dictated the necessity for British children to be instructed in their own vernacular, the Anglo-Saxon tongue.

Pushed into prominence by the Industrial Revolution and expanding technology, the newly-risen middle class posed a potentially powerful threat to the declining aristocracy. The fears were unfounded because this new group wanted only to ape and be accepted by their "betters," and they wanted neither themselves nor their children to reflect any kinship with those they had left behind. Instead they wanted rules of conduct, linguistic and social, so as not to belie their rural and/or lower-class origins.

The middle class rush was on! England was becoming an important world power and London the center of commercial life. Certainly it was to the advantage of the elite to have their manners and speech adopted by these new social hordes. It would help to civilize them into the established values of the fallen monarchs and secure for that aristocratic set a permanent place in the upper ranks of the social order. Imitation is not only the highest form of flattery but a well-traveled road to sociopolitical co-optation.

The early grammarians envisioned their task as one of regularizing and purifying common speech. Unwittingly, however, they became part of the grand design to perpetrate the centuries old class system. Examples are found in Bishop Robert Lowth's *Short Introduction to English Grammar* (1763) and in du Port Royal's *Art of Speaking*, translated from French into English in 1668.

Although Americans supposedly severed their colonial ties with the mother country in 1776, and although this country was founded in repudiation of the European class system, still the class-biased attitudes toward grammatical and social amenities came over with the Mayflower.

American counterparts are strikingly exemplified in Goold Brown's *Grammar of English Grammars* (1851) and Lindley Murray's *An English Grammar* (1795). Murray, especially, is to be noted for his reiteration of the English (and French) notion that there was something intrinsically virtuous and personally superior in those who used "correct" English forms.

Subsequent American grammars tended merely to mirror those early elitist ones, and thus the Latin prescriptivist tradition enjoyed unchallenged longevity until the early years of the 20th century and the rise of structuralist grammarians. Influenced by rationalist-empiricist thought, structuralists approached the study of English scientifically and rightly contended that language was in people, not in grammar handbooks. Structuralists' analyses revealed numerous disparities between grammar book dictates and the actual language practices of Americans. Departures from Latinate rules included such "errors" as ending sentences with prepositions and using objective case after copula (that is, *It is me* for *It is I*). By codifying observable empirical data, the structuralists contributed a grammar describing English in terms of its own signals and structural cues, and demonstrated incontrovertibly that the Latinate model was inapplicable to an understanding of the structure of English.

However, in their attempt to free speakers from outmoded structures and 18th century usage norms, the structuralist-descriptivisits induced the new "standard English" norms from the linguistic data of actual speakers. But the 20th century language pace-setters were invariably those persons in upper- and middle-class positions. For example, in his *American English Grammar* (1940), Charles C. Fries surveyed some 3,000 letters of veterans of varying class status and arrived at his Class I standard speakers on the basis of socioeconomic indices. Thus "standard English" became the class dialect of the "socially acceptable . . . those who carry on the affairs of the country."[4] The new standard made things no better for common (and minority culture) folk. Instead of freeing speakers and writers from petty linguistic amenities, the immediate educational application of structuralist research was towards sociolinguistic conformity for the children whose parents had emigrated to this country in massive numbers around the turn of the 20th century. (No broken English in this class, Antonio, and so on, like that). The melting pot has never been a reality, not even for Whites. Black poet

Don Lee has said, it melted and we Blacks burned. But in the process, so did a lot of other so-called "divergent" languages and cultures, for the immigrants' kids became ashamed of they mommas and daddies who had sweated and toiled to bring they families to this country and then turned round and sweated some more to send they kids to school only to find them kids embarrassed bout them and they speech! Thus the structuralist-derived standard merely involved the substitution of one elitist norm for another–the group Anglican (WASP) standard of America for the individualist "divinely inspired" Latinate standard of England.

Throughout American history the trend has been to obliterate–not maintain–linguistic and cultural diversity, and that was the price of admission paid by latter-day immigrants. As we move towards the bicentennial celebration, we will be hard-pressed to see cultural pluralism other than in living color, for Blacks, Browns, and Reds are the principal American groups who have retained a distinct linguistic and cultural identity. And although this retention is less immediately apparent in black America, still the Africanisms are there, albeit transformed by the existential conditions of American servitude. Let us look closely at some of the residual Africanisms in the language system of Blacks and, as we do so, let us be reminded that language is inextricable from culture and history.

The Language of Slaves

American slavery began with the arrival of 20 Africans at Jamestown in 1619 on the Dutch boat, *The Good Ship Jesus*. What kind of language did these and immediately succeeding generations of slaves speak? English? Swahili? Yoruba? Ibo? (Logic would dictate that they didn't jump fresh off the boat boogalooin' and speaking Black English!) We can begin to find some answers if we place Black English in the larger context of the development of the Afro-pidgins and Creoles that resulted from European expansion into other continents.[5] In nearly every circumstance where Africans and Europeans came into contact, there developed pidginized and creolized forms of European languages–Pidgin French, Dutch Creole, Pidgin Portuguese, English Creole, and so on. Even though the languages were different, the patterns of adaptation and development were alike owing to the broad similarity of linguistic and cultural background in the diverse groups of Africans sold into slavery.

A pidgin, by definition, is nothing more than a mixture of two languages developed when two speakers who can't understand one another come into contact and have to learn to communicate immediately. (I mean in those real-life situations when folk ain got no language labs to be goin to.) This language mixture is used for transactional purposes only, as was the case between Europeans and Africans in the slave trade and on the American plantations. A pidgin becomes a creole when it is in widespread use and the first and only language of a speech community.

The slaves approached the learning of English with the only linguistic arsenal they had–knowledge of their own African language, especially a basic competence in its syntax. In any language, grammatical structure rather than vocabulary and sound is most basic and least subject to change. (English has had the same basic grammatical structure since 1700.) So the Africans approximated the white man's tongue by trying to fit his words and sounds onto their native African syntactical patterns, producing a form of Africanized English (that is, Pidgin English).

Now, please don't nobody misunderstand me–uhm not talkin about no "baby-talk." I'm talking about the slave interpreting English in terms of his native linguistic patterns. This procedure of trying to make a foreign language fit the structural patterns of one's native tongue is fairly standard in language learning situations, even those with formal instruction and language labs. For example, when I used to teach English to foreign college students, I once had a German student render Patrick Henry's famous motto as "Give me *the* liberty or *the* death." He was obviously generalizing from the German rule that dictates the placement of a definite article before nouns. When I taught Latin to high school students, many of them white, they would do such things as put apostrophies in Latin possessive forms, producing something like *agricolae's filia* for *the farmer's daughter*.

Back on the plantation–the initial groups of slaves were probably bilingual, having Ibo, Yoruba, or some other West African dialect at their command and the Africanized Pidgin English as well. As time progressed, the Africanized English patterns became more dominant primarily for two reasons. First, Whites made systematic and vigorous attempts to suppress slave language and culture, placing tremendous restrictions on the movement, life, and community of slaves. Second, it was the pattern of slavers to mix up Africans from different tribes so as to foil communication and lessen the possibilities for rebellion. Although the different tribal dialects had some basic structural similarities, still they were too different to facilitate communication. Thus the slaves had to resort to using the Pidgin English that was the shared common language used to communicate with their masters. Obviously, succeeding generations were born into slavery hearing the native African tongue spoken less and less.

But even the Africanized English patterns did not remain intact. As time moved on, many slaves gave up all hope of ever returning to Africa and, indeed to newer and newer generations, Africa seemed altogether too foreign and remote. Many slaves (as black psychiatrist Frantz Fanon tells us colonized people are prone to do[6]) began to opt for the language and "ways of white folks."[7] Compound this with the white hope symbolized by abolitionists and other then-considered "radical" whites, and you can see why Africanized English Creole begins to be de-Africanized and starts levelling out in the direction of white American English. The Creole became what the distinguished linguist Leonard Bloomfield back in the 1930s called "de-creolized."[8] Today much of contemporary black speech is the result of this process of cultural and linguistic adaptation. Need it be said that the adaptation has been greatest where the contact with Whites has been closest? Hence we see the most pronounced African survivals in black working-class communities and among recent middle-class arrivals from grass-roots backgrounds.

Syntactic Features of Black English

Here are some of the distinctive features of the language of Black English that resulted from the pidginization process described above:[9]

1. *Be/non-be pattern.* The verb form "be" (also "bees" and "be's") is used to denote a condition that is habitual or intermittent. The verb form is omitted if the condition is true for the present moment only, or if the statement conveys an all-time truth, rather than a recurring state of affairs. For example, "the coffee bees cold" means it is often that way (or maybe that way every day). "The coffee cold" means today or right

now it's cold, but it is not necessarily the usual state of affairs. In other words, if you're the cook and "the coffee cold," you might only just get talked about that day, but if "the coffee bees cold," pretty soon you ain gon have no job! In understanding the be/non-be rule, it is not so much tense that is important as aspect–mode or operation or quality of action. (West African verb structures also emphasize modality rather than tense.)

The be/non-be rule also produces a pattern like *do + be* as: "Do they be playing all day?" and "Yeah, the boys do be messing around a lot."

Interestingly enough, tense forms of *be* appear in places where they are needed for the semantic sense of communication, as in the past tense and in tag questions. For example: *He was my English teacher last year* rather than something ambiguous like *He my English teacher last year.* And: *You ain't sick, is you?* rather than the unintelligible form *You ain't sick, you?*

2. *Marking tense by context.* Here Black English relies on either the context of the immediate sentence or the context of an entire conversation. In this way, the same verb form serves for both present and past tense, as: "My brother come home from the Army last week," but also: "My brother come home from work tired today." The adverbials last week and today signal the time of these statements rather than a change in the verb form. Similarly, in the following statement, excerpted from a black sermon, the preacher has already established the fact that he's talking about the past (that is, the life and sacrifice of Christ): "The man Jesus, He come here, He die to save you from your sins! He walk the earth, He go among the thieves and try to save the unrighteous. The Master say whosoever will, let him come!"

3. *Marking of person and number by context.* Most verbs are not marked for person, and the same form serves for all subjects, whether singular or plural. Thus: "She have us say it"; "My momma 'nem (and them, that is, my mother and others) look at that all the time"; "That same boy get kick out of school mostly everyday"; "He do the same thang they do."

4. *Forms of have, done, and the perfective. Have* is not needed before

been, thus: "She been tardy twice." When the perfective is marked in the surface structure, *done* is usually employed, as: "Look here now, I told you I done fixed them thangs the other week, so quit askin me bout it."

5. *Signalling noun plurality and possession by juxtaposition and/or context.* In the deep structure, Black English obviously has the concepts of plurality and possession, but they are not indicated by the surface structure addition of *-s* or apostrophes with *-s*. For example: "Two boy just left" (*two* indicates that it's plural); "That was Mr. Johnson store got burn down" (the position of the noun, *Mr. Johnson*, signals who possesses the store.)

6. *Other nominal forms.*

(a) SURFACE STRUCTURE STRESS ON SUBJECT, that is, "double subject": "My son, he have a new car," and "The boy who left, he my friend."

(b) UNMARKED PRONOMINAL FORMS: "The expressway bought they house" and "They should do it theyselves."

(c) *IT* AS EXPLETIVE; that is, functions like *there*: "It's four boys and two girls in the family."

(d) NO OBLIGATORY RELATIVE PRONOUN, that is, signalling by context: "It was a man had died" and "It was this girl got killed."

7. *Negation patterns.* Whereas the old double negative goes back to Shakespeare and is in abundant use among Whites today, triple and quadruple negatives are the sole province of Africanized English. Thus: "Don't nobody never help me do my work," and "Can't nobody do nothin in Mr. Smith class." Note that these are *statements*, not questions, despite the inverted subject-verb order. Another distinctive Africanized English pattern occurs in statements of limited negation that pattern with *but*, as: "Don't but one person go out at a time," and "Don't nobody but God know when that day gon be."

Semantic Differences

I have given you some examples of the different language of black

Americans. But a style of speaking is more than syntactical patterns, it is also words, tonal qualities, and patterns of discourse and rhetoric. Thus we should briefly examine the African slave's need to communicate coded messages to fellow slaves and the psychological necessity to undergird that code with the African cultural imperative.

The slave imposed black in-group semantic meanings upon the white English words he was forced to use, generating what I call the *black lexicon*.[10] With this linguistic strategy, he was able to express himself in a language undeciphered by Ole Massa and to use communicative terms to address his condition and experience. Some examples are terms like: *ofay*, the Pig Latin version of *foe* (enemy), thus traditionally "ofay" was a derisive code term for Whites. *Miss Ann* is a derisive term referring to the white woman, and by extension, any uppity acting black woman who is trying to be like "Miss Ann." In the black lexicon, the *kitchen* is not where you cook, but the very nappy hair at the nape of the neck. *Ashy* is what happens to black skin when you don't put any grease on it, that is, it becomes whitish in appearance due to chafing and exposure to the *Hawk* (cold) of North America.

Consider a very simple term like the expression "baby" in "Hey, baby, what's happenin?" "Baby" is significant because it relates, in a culturally coded way, to black masculinity. Since black men have historically been emasculated by white America, the most manly thing a black dude can do is use a term of female address with another male. According to Claude Brown, it's like saying "I got masculinity to spare."[11] Since white America does not use the term with this special meaning and history behind it, "baby" becomes a register of exclusion (that is, of Whites). A strange black man can use the term to greet a strange black woman because it's his way of acknowledging the racial and cultural bond between them. (By contrast, a strange white man saying "baby" to a strange white woman might get his face slapped.) Remember the late Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's famous "Keep the faith, baby"? Just saying "keep the faith" wouldn't have done it, but by adding that "baby" Powell was triggering a communication register that said to black America: "Hey, I'm with y'all."

As another example, consider the revolutionary rhetoric couched in the old Negro spirituals. "Steal away to Jesus" really meant stealing away *from* the slave master. "This train bound for glory" was a metaphor for the complex system of escape routes that became known as the Underground Railroad, the "glory" obviously was freedom in the North or Canada.[12]

This tradition of using a coded dialect of English whose meaning is veiled from Whites persisted even after slavery and can be seen as the underpinning of contemporary so-called Afro-American "slang." The origin of this linguistic process in servitude helps to explain why today when a black term enters the mainstream, it tends to lose its linguistic currency in the black community. After all, a code is no longer a code if others are familiar with it.

Patterns of Rhetoric and Communication

Let us turn now to the ways in which Blacks combine words into larger patterns of rhetoric and communication. Africanized English is comprised of linguistic games like the *dozens*[13], a verbal style of talking disparagingly about someone's mother. ("At least my momma don't buy her furniture from the Good Will!") It's played as a game that requires plenty of language fluency and rhyming and punning ability. There are folk narrative structures called *toasts*[14] that verbally together Blacks (especially males) memorize and recite for hours, making up episodes and rhymes as they go along. ("Down in the jungle where the coconut grows/lived a signifying monkey who was a Bad-ass hole.") Then there are linguistic strategies for processing messages like *signifying* and *testifying*. To signify is to convey a message through indirection, metaphor, and humor. Old-timey black preachers sigged on white Christian slaveholders with the expression "Everybody talkin bout Heaven ain goin there." And Malcolm X once began a speech with the following bit of signifyin: "Mr. Moderator, Brother Lomax, brothers and sisters, friends and enemies: I just can't believe everyone in here is a friend and I don't want to leave anybody out."[15] To testify is to use a black communication pattern that involves giving witness, through verbalizing, to the efficacy and power of some experience in which the audience also has shared. ("I come here today to testify what the Lord done did for me.") Aretha Franklin does a secularized version of testifying when she talks about the power of her man, Dr. FeelGood, in her recording by that name.

Finally, there is the important dynamic of *call-response* in black communication.[16] This pattern is the verbal interchange between speakers where each relies on and anticipates the verbal and nonverbal responses of the other in order to cosign (reaffirm) the message or "call." The pattern has been ritualized most effectively in the Traditional Black Church (that is, the holy-rolling, spirit-possessing, Africanized Christian churches, such as Pentecostal, Sanctified, Baptist, and so on). Sacred call-response is exemplified by *Amen, Speak the word, Say so!, Tell it!,* and other such verbalisms that the church congregation uses in talking back to the preacher! Nonverbal responses are gestures like waving one's hand in the air, clapping of hands, stomping feet, moaning, and chanting. Secularized call-response patterns are manifested in expressions like *Get down, baby, You bad nigguh!* (said with approval and affinity). Nonverbal responses are giving five (palm slapping), hitting the wall or back of a chair, dancing and moving around when talking, etc.

White misunderstanding of black call-response can make for some interesting cases of cross-cultural communication interference. My first experience with this kind of miscuing came during my graduate school days. Whenever I talked to an Anglo friend of mine at the university, she would not engage in this pattern and would remain passive or occasionally respond with a weak, low-voiced "mmmmhhmmm." I always got the feeling that she wasn't paying any attention and often annoyed her by repeatedly asking "Are you listening to me?" On the other hand, when she would talk to me, I would be responding according to my cultural background and would move around and interject comments of agreement, approval, or disagreement, surprise, or whatever. She in turn would accuse me of "not listening because you keep interrupting"!

To sum up, then, Black English represents a richly creative example of linguistic diversity in America. It manifests the values of an oral culture that sees power in the spoken word and emphasizes total group participation in the communication process. These values are African in their origin and represent a sustained continuity of African consciousness that even the horror and dehumanization of slavery could not obliterate.

Cultural and Linguistic Pluralism

In terms of policymaking and teaching in the language curriculum, it should be obvious that where we go from here is towards preserving the cultural distinctiveness and linguistic diversity of Blacks, Browns, and Reds, for they have retained their heritage and can make the myth of American plurality a living reality. Teachers righteously tuned in to the viability of these different cultures would not repeat the dehumanizing acts of some of my teachers who, for instance, tried to discourage me from taking Latin since, according to one of them, I "couldn't even speak English properly." (I took it anyway, got all A's and went on to teach it.) Nor would such teachers send Latino children to the office to be disciplined because they spoke Spanish in class.[17] Such teachers *would* be teaching students about the intricate connection between language and cultural experiences–that is, to teach a people's language is to teach about the people themselves. (After all, why do the Eskimos have so many words for snow?) Students should be taught that there are no primitive languages, nor any inherently refined ones–each is adapted to the needs of its culture. And no language is decreed from on High, not even "standard" English. We should be about the business of preparing all students, colored as well as noncolored, to live in a multilinguistic, transnational world. This means cultivating a respect for (and celebration of) linguistic-cultural diversity, balanced by the recognition that on the universal ("deep structure") level, the world is but one community.

Adapting to Students' Needs

Language teaching in classrooms of Blacks, Browns, and Reds should proceed from the premise that such students have a high degree of linguistic competence in their own language. Leading students from the known to the unknown and eliciting from them comparisons of language systems, teachers can capitalize on the students' native language fluency to teach competence in a foreign language. Most important, the students' own language and culture must be genuinely accepted and respected; else they will be turned off to the functional value of mastering a different language. Teaching styles must be adapted to the cultural-cognitive patterns of the students. For example, since Black English depends on an oral, participatory communication network, the mode of language instruction should be highly verbal in structure and require responses and participatory movement of all kinds from the students. If black students sit passively and nonverbally, it most likely means they aren't listening or learning.

When we teach a foreign language, we must be careful not to perpetrate myths and misconceptions about that particular language and the people who speak it. German speakers are not "guttural and crude," nor the French "witty and sophisticated." In point of fact, we can tell little about a person's character or intelligence on the basis of his speech, whatever its linguistic or dialectal variety. Not only are such conclusions apt to be erroneous, they are often the basis for denial of jobs, entry into academia, and social rejection of persons who may be highly qualified, likable, and success-bound. Here we should be concerned that students begin to recognize that attitudes about a language are indicative of attitudes about the people who use that language. Any number of recent language attitude studies have demonstrated this. Lambert found in his research on the language attitudes of Canadians, that Canadians speaking French were rated lower in intelligence, trustworthiness, self-confidence, etc. than when the *very same* Canadians spoke English![18] And in this country, Southern white speakers, regardless of status, tend to be denigrated by white Northerners.

A Call for a National Policy

Working through their professional organizations, teachers and educational policy makers should press for resolutions and policy statements that would reaffirm the "students' right to their own language." The Conference on College Composition and Communication, a group of educators concerned with English instruction in the first two years of college, recently adopted such a policy statement at its national meeting. Finally, an ultimate goal would be for teachers to struggle for a national public policy on language that would reassert the legitimacy of languages other than English and American dialects other than "standard."

Ultimately, I am talking about policy-making guidelines and classroom strategies that stem from a pedagogical ideology consistent with the humanistic ideal, America's diverse cultural heritage, and its democratically conceived social vision. As language teachers, we should be stressing the use of language to serve man righteously rather than as a tool of oppression and deceit. And if that means what Langston Hughes would call choosing "goodness over grammar,"[19] I can only reply with Nina Simone's response, well, "it bees dat way sometime."

Notes

1. See Ruth I. Golden, *Improving Patterns of Language Usage* (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1960) and *The Effectiveness of Instructional Tapes for Changing Regional Speech Patterns* (Detroit: Detroit Public Schools, 1962).
2. Sol Tax and Robert K. Thomas, "Education 'for' American Indians: Threat or Promise?" *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education* (Florida FL Reporter, Special Anthology Issue, 1969), p. 18.
3. Armando Rodriguez, "Mexican-American–Disadvantaged? Ya Basta!" *ibid.*, p. 35.
4. Charles C. Fries, *American English Grammer* (New York: Appleton-Century, 1940), pp. 13-14.
5. See J. L. Dillard, *Black English* (New York: Random House, 1972); *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages*, edited by Dell Hymes (Cambridge University Press, 1971); Robert Hall, *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1966).
6. Frantz Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (New York: Grove Press, 1967). See especially the chapter, "The Negro and Language."
7. See Langston Hughes, *The Ways of White Folks* (New York: Knopf, 1934), a collection of short stories on this theme.
8. Leonard Bloomfield, *Language* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, 1933), po. 472-75.
9. The examples are taken from data gathered in Boston and Detroit. See Geneva Smitherman, "A Comparison of the Oral and Written Styles of a Group of Inner-City Black Students," (Ph.D. dissertation University of Michigan, 1969) and *The Black Idiom: Soul and Style* (forthcoming). For similar examples and data from other researchers, see Dillard, *Black English*, and Walter Wolfram, *Detroit Negro Speech* (Center for Applied Linguistics, 1969), one of a series of publications on the 1966-68 Detroit Dialect Study, Center for Applied Linguistics and National Institute of Mental Health.
10. See Geneva Smitherman, *Sounds of Soul: Black Language and Culture* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974). See also Clarence Major, *Dictionary of Afro-American Slang* (New York: International Publishers, 1970).
11. Claude Brown, *Manchild in the Promised Land* (New York: New American Library, Signet Edition, 1966), p. 171ff.
12. See Harold Courlander, *Negro Folk Music U.S.A.* (Columbia University Press, 1963), pp. 41ff. See also, Carter Woodson, *The History of the Negro Church* (Washington, D.C.: Associated Publishers, 1921) and W.E.B. DuBois, "The Sorrow Songs," in *Souls of Black Folk*, 1903, and *The Negro Church* (Atlanta: Atlanta University Press, 1903).
13. See William Labov, "Rules for Ritual Insults" in his *Language in the Inner City* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972), pp. 297-354. See also articles in the section on Negro Verbal Art in *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel*, edited by Alan Dundes (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, 1973), pp. 245-356; and Smitherman, *Sounds of Soul: Black Language and Culture.*
14. See Roger Abrahams, *Deep Down in the Jungle* (Chicago: Aldine Publishers, 1963). See also Labov, Cohen, Robins, and Lewis, "Toasts" in *Mother Wit from the Laughing Barrel*, p. 329ff. For the use of the Toast tradition and Dozens in the new black literature, see Geneva Smitherman, "The Power of the Rap: The Black Idiom and the New Black Poetry," *Twentieth Century Literature* (October 1973).

15. Malcolm X, "The Ballot or the Bullet," speech given at Cory Methodist Church, April 3, 1964, in *Malcolm X Speaks*, edited by George Breitman (New York: Grove Press, 1965), p. 23ff.
16. For more on this, see Grace Holt, "Stylin' Outta the Black Pulpit," in *Rappin' and Stylin' Out*, edited by Thomas Kochman (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1972), pp. 189-204. See also Smitherman, *Sounds of Soul*, and Jack Daniel and Geneva Smitherman, "How I Got Over: The Communication Process of the Traditional Black Church" (forthcoming).
17. See Joe J. Bernal, "I Am Mexican-American," in *Linguistic-Cultural Differences and American Education*, p. 32ff.
18. See Anisfeld, Bogo, and Lambert, "Evaluational Reactions to Accented English Speech," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* 65 (1962): 223-31; Lambert, Frankel and Tucker, "Judging Personality Through Speech: A French-Canadian Example," *Journal of Communications* 4 (1966): 305-21. See also Lambert, Gardner, Olton and Tunstall, "A Study of the Roles of Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning," in *Readings in the Sociology of Language*, edited by Joshua Fishman (The Netherlands: Mouton & Co., 1968), pp. 473-91. For Lambert's findings on "White and Negro Listeners' Reactions to Various American-English Dialects," see Tucker and Lambert, *Social Forces*, pp. 463-68.
19. See Langston Hughes, "Grammar and Goodness," in *Simple Stakes A Claim* (New York: Rinehart and Co., 1957). For more on this related specifically to classroom teaching, see Geneva Smitherman, "English Teacher, Why You Be Doing the Thangs You Don't Do," *English Journal* (January 1972) and "God Don't Never Change!: Black English from a Black Perspective," *College English* (March 1973). See also the column "Soul 'N Style," by Geneva Smitherman, *English Journal*, 1973-74.

4

Analyzing French Culture

Interpreting Some of Its Manifestations

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Attempting to analyze the French culture is synonymous with Mission Impossible. Anthropologists spend lifetimes trying to come to grips with what makes French an ethnic identity and isolating those peculiar traits that distinguish the French from other ethnic groups. Because of the complexity of their origins, the people of France are made of contradictions that render the process of analysis and generalization very difficult. The following remarks will attempt to suggest one possible method of analyzing French culture. This approach offers the possibility of answering the question so often asked by students: "Why do the French do it that way?" The process also permits students to come into direct contact with some of the manifestations of French culture without being shocked, and hopefully leads them to a better understanding and acceptance of another way of life.

This brief analysis reflects two of the author's beliefs. The first is that in order to teach culture one must possess a thorough knowledge of France and its people, be aware of the existence of the main sources of cultural materials, and be able to use them effectively. The second is that, no matter how well informed the teacher is, the students will understand and retain best what they have experienced through personal involvement.

It should be noted, however, that this approach to French culture should constitute only one component of a total pedagogical sequence consisting of different phases of language and cultural experiences adapted to the age and level of the students involved.

Four Steps Suggested

To facilitate the understanding and the teaching of French culture a four phase program is suggested:

PHASE 1. *An inventory of the basic characteristics of the people of France.* (An analysis of the French)

PHASE 2. *A study of typical situations that can be explained as consequential to the sociocultural behaviors identified in Phase 1.* (The information sources listed in the bibliography have been chosen especially because of their abundant number of informative examples and because each item listed is a key to other sources of cultural information of utmost importance.)

PHASE 3. *The discovery of new situations by the teacher and/or the students through such activities as reading books, newpapers, magazines, advertisements, etc., through direct contact with natives (exchange students, visitors, pen pals, twin cities exchanges, travels abroad, etc.), or through observation via visual and audio aids (movies, filmstrips, slides, tapes, records, etc.).*

PHASE 4. *Living or acting out selected French cultural situations to help minimize awkwardness and maximize understanding and tolerance of people who think and act differently.*

The main objective of Phase 1 is to discover and acknowledge the behavioral characteristics of the French people. Although the term culture applies to all manifestations of a civilization, more emphasis is placed here on the aspects of culture reflected in the comportment of the French in everyday life situations. Among the many existing definitions of the word culture, I would like to adopt the one coined by Edouard Herriot, a French politician and writer. His definition has become proverbial: "*La culture, c'est ce qu'il reste quand on a tout oublié.*" (Culture is what remains when one has forgotten everything else.) What is left in a person born and raised in a specific cultural milieu when he has forgotten most of the components of his formal training? A set of behaviors so deeply anchored in him that wherever he goes, whatever he does, everything in his behavior denotes his origin.

Although it is difficult to assess the percent of unconscious behavior in a French person, one can assume that a great number of his activities reflect his culture. Edouard Herriot also said "*la culture, ça se vit*" (culture is lived). For a thorough analytic description and classification of French cultural values, one is indebted to Howard Lee Nostrand whose colossal inventory of the French sociocultural system has been published under the auspices of the U. S. Office of Education,[1] available through ERIC. Based on Nostrand's model, Tora L. Ladu has made available a more concise analysis of French and Spanish cultures entitled *Teaching for Cross-Cultural Understanding.*[2]

As a matter of expediency, the next few pages will consider together some of the basic characteristics of French culture and the situations that might occur as their consequence. Many more illustrations of each topic may be found in the works listed in the footnotes.

Six Characteristics of the French

A list of characteristics of the French people may serve as a solid basis of reference to explain certain situations that might seem illogical to an American student. Invaluable to the establishment of characteristics are the generative lines of the French sociocultural system as determined in the Nostrand research mentioned above. Nostrand found 12 major themes of the French value system: individualism, intellectuality, art of living, realism, common sense, friendship, love, family, justice, liberty, patriotism, and traditionalism. For the purposes of the paper, discussion will be limited to the six characteristics of French people that the author considers to be most important.

Contradictive mentality. Under an apparent unity of territory, language, social and political organization, the French show much diversity in their comportment. André Siegfried has expressed this contradictive mentality in what is perhaps the most typically French way of behaving: "*Pas de pays plus hardi dans ses conceptions, pas de pays plus routinier dans ses habitudes . . . il se passionne pour la création, pour l'invention et se désintéresse de l'application.*"[3] (No country more daring in formulating concepts, no country showing more routine in its habits . . . it has a passion for creativity and for invention but is disinterested in the applications of its findings). In order to explain these contradictory behaviors let us look for examples at the origins of the French people. Different invasions and infiltrations throughout the ages have formed the nation. Because of the diversity of these elements there is not one French race but rather a "melting pot" of many races. The Celts, already a mixed race, witnessed the coming of the Romans, Germans, and Normans to name only a few. To these may be added such peripheric groups as the Bretons, the Basques, the Flemish, etc. All these various components have contributed to the psychological diversity of the French.

Individualism. Pierre Daninos remarks with humor in his *Carnets du Major Thompson: "Les livres de géographie et les dictionnaires disent que la Grande-Bretagne compte 49 millions d'âmes, que les Etats-Unis d'Amérique totalisent 160 millions d'habitants . . . mais ils devraient dire que la France est divisée en 43 millions de Français"*[4] (Geography books and dictionaries state that Great Britain has 49 million people, that the U. S. has a total of 160 million inhabitants . . . but they should say that France is divided into 43 million Frenchmen.) Each Frenchman wants to be different from his peers and in order to defy the "law of the land," he has invented the *systême D* or *système de la débrouillardise* (maneuvering). He delights in finding legal loopholes and circumventing established rules of behavior. Another illustration of his individualistic tendencies is the well-enclosed garden to protect his *chez soi* where he can enjoy his privacy. One can notice that the structure of the French sentence starting by "*Moi, je . . .*" emphasizes the importance of the individual. Did not Candide recommend that one "cultivate his own garden"?

Bons sens. Common sense is one of the virtues the French cherish most. The philosopher Descartes, assuming that his contemporaries were born with an abundant amount of common sense, stated that "*le bon sens est la chose au monde la mieux partagée*" (common sense is the thing most equally distributed among people). This gift has been carefully protected by the French system of education, which, since Montaigne, has aimed at developing "*une tête bien faite*" (a well made head) rather than "*une tête bien pleine*" (a full head). Recently this common sense has applied itself to the evolution of French society that now attaches more and more value to knowledge, competence, and professional activities to satisfy the needs of the modern world.[5] In decision making the pros and cons are always lengthily and carefully weighed as if one were trying to equilibrate the two trays of a scale. "The French *bon sens* is made up, in part, of particular ideas of moderation and happiness. Prudence, as everywhere, forms the basis of this theme of practical wisdom."[6]

Tradition. At the base of French society is the family, which, especially in the provinces, is the symbolic stronghold of traditional values. Even if some 20th century families have seen partial loosening of traditional bonds because of socioeconomic change, the elements of cohesion and the forces of tradition still are very much present in the family. If some of the old customs associated with Christmas, Easter, or July 14 are fading away, if the bourgeois wedding is a thing of the past, some of the old usages are still in vigor. The dowry, for instance, still exists even though it is becoming less and less important.[7] The French presently are putting a large percentage of their efforts into saving historical monuments and sites. Several solutions have been conceived to protect some of the old châteaus. After restoration by the government they will be rented to groups for meetings or used as hotels, cultural centers, or welcome centers.[8] This is a practical way to preserve tradition while using old stone to house tourists and scholars.

Intellectuality. The French are known for their ability for and love of intellectual "gymnastics" which impel them to coin some striking ideas, plays on words, and puns. Such is the word of Alphon Allais "*la nuit tombait. Je me suis baissé pour la ramasser*"[9] (Night was falling. I stooped to pick it up.) An excellent example of French *esprit* and humor exercised on the sociopolitical scene is the widely read satiric French weekly newspaper, *Le Canard enchainé*. The intellectuality of the French also is reflected in the priority given to education in the national budget. Jacques Fauvet, editor-in-chief of *Le Monde*, expresses clearly the intellectual predisposition of the French people when he argues the superiority of newspapers to television or magazines: "*Enfin, dans un pays réputé intelligent et même intellectualiste, qui a le goût exclusif de idées pures et leur donne volontiers la priorité sur les faits, la* *presse devrait renoncer à vouloir vainement concurrencer l'image de la télévision et du magazine."*[10]

Bons-vivants. *Savoir Vivre* and *Art de Vivre* are formulas that denote the definite will of the French to establish a certain style of life, a harmony between the hours of work and those of leisure. Very often business or discussion take place at the *terrasse* of a *café* where a pleasant atmosphere adds a social touch to the business obligation. It is known that gastronomy is one of the favorite French social functions. Whether it is the *petit plat* prepared by the hostess for her guest or the full course dinner at a three-star restaurant chosen in the *Guide Michelin*, the purpose of a dinner is always to enjoy at length the best food possible in good company. It is not rare to evaluate a visit to a city by adding as a final approval: *et on y mange bien* (and the food is good there). This great pleasure in life, the art of eating, brings considerable attention to the art of cooking. Both are elements of the art of living. One could look into the many proverbs or sayings that include culinary terms, such as "*avoir du sang de navet,*" "*être haut comme trois pommes,*" "*c'est bête comme chou,*" "*être trempé comme une soupe*" (to have turnip blood, to be as tall as three apples, it is as dumb as cabbage, to be soaked like bread in the soup).

These six characteristics merely brush the surface of the French personality. The list could be expanded easily to 12 or 15. High in the continuing sequence would be the idealism, the realism, the sociability, the cautiousness, and other traits identified through observation and research. The limited list of situations cited above illustrate the cultural traits discussed and serve as typical examples of Phase 2. It should be noted that some of the themes illustrated in the situations will cross and recross the large generative lines of the sociocultural system. Some kind of synthesis then can be attempted with the students in order to rediscover the major traits used as a point of departure.

Interpreting the Culture

The third phase of the program is perhaps the one most widely used in our teaching of culture. It is the interpretation of newly discovered situations. Those cultural manifestations emerge from sources of information such as movies, filmstrips, slides, posters, records, tapes, letters from penpals, newspapers and magazines, interviews and surveys, etc. As an example, let us take one of the hit tunes of Christmas 1973 called "*Jésus est né en Provence*" (Jesus was born in Provence). How can we explain the resurgence of provincial autonomy in France and this unheard of place for the birth of Jesus? Is it intellectuality? Traditionalism? Individualism? Sense of humor? Which characteristics will explain it best? Or is it a little of each? Such a process soon will become a game for the student whose curiosity will lead him to pick up from shortwave radio broadcasts, comic strips, advertisements, etc., typically French traits he can analyze and interpret.

Performing the Culture

The last phase is perhaps the most important if not the most delicate. Since cultural behavior can be singled out, identified, and analyzed, it can be taught, performed, and even tested. In an evaluation of a two-week French culture workshop held in 1971 for the Nashville Metropolitan Teachers, it was observed that the students in the demonstration class remembered best those elements of culture that were presented to them through situations in which they were actively involved. One unit dealing with the typical behavior of French drivers, which was built around active student involvement, produced excellent results in cultural understanding and behavior. Not only did the students remember the cultural elements (road signs, some *code de la route* rules, etc.), but they also remembered well the language involved in specific situations such as a slight accident.

Drawing from the above experience among many, I wholeheartedly endorse active student involvement in the learning of culture. American students can be led to *live* the French culture, and for many of them, especially those in FLES program, this active involvement (Phase 4) may be the only viable approach to learning culture.

Emphasizing cross-cultural awareness will lead to greater understanding and acceptance of other ways of doing things, and hopefully instill in the students a spirit of tolerance. One word of caution, however, is in order. Change in attitude is a slow process, and activities related to it are delicate, subtle and should be spread over many years. Therefore attitudinal change should not be a short-range goal for the language teacher but rather the ultimate long-range one.

Notes

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5

Analyzing Hispanic Culture: Some Implications for Teaching

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Visitors to the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City, both Mexican and foreign, often express admiration for the museum's exhibits and manner of presentation, but are perhaps most impressed by the grandiose construction of the building itself. Pedro Ramírez Vázquez, the renowned Mexican architect responsible for the museum's design, has stated that he was inspired by the architectural tradition of the ancient Mayas. Of particular interest to Ramírez Vázquez was the Mayas's generous use of space and the upward reach of their buildings, so designed in an effort to be pleasing to their gods. The Mayas and the other Indian civilizations of the New World seemed to possess a special sense for beauty and a respect for form, also characteristic of their Spanish conquerors. It is not surprising, therefore, that those who inherited this dual Spanish and Indian cultural heritage, the Hispanic Americans, have repeatedly demonstrated that they also place a high value on beauty and form.

However, the fact that university students in Mexico City issued strong protests against the construction of architectural monuments in the city (the museum included)–arguing that the money could have been better spent improving the living conditions of their fellow Mexicans–

indicates, that for those students at least, a higher value was placed on bringing about social change than on the pleasure derived from contemplating the beauty of monuments.

Evolving Cultural Values

While *no* generalizations can be drawn from this single incident, its occurrence should be noted, since it *may* be indicative of a shift in the hierarchy of Hispanic American cultural values. There is nothing static about a people's values in any society. This is particularly true of societies in which the people are subject to a number of different influences and are undergoing a process of change. In that regard, Galo Plaza, Secretary General of the Organization of American States, makes the following relevant observations:

> Every country of Latin America has its distinctive profile. But all have one thing in common: they are in the throes of transformation, more pervasive, dramatic, and fundamental than at any other time in history. Change in Latin America is of course only part of the worldwide pattern, but it is quicker, more radical, more explosive, and more permeated with ideology. This dynamism may be discomforting to those who do not really understand it, but it is by large constructive and creative.
>
> . . .
>
> Today values are undergoing a marked change. Urgent demands for economic and social development are forcing Latin America to move away from the contemplative attitude toward time. Today we feel compelled to act, to obtain the benefits of technology and to put our institutions in tune with the times. This is a key turning point in the evolution of Latin American cultural values.
>
> But let us make no mistake. Our culture will demand a balance between this new sense of urgency and our traditional attitude of contemplation. We do not want to move ahead so fast and so far that we lose our capacity to enjoy the fruits of our labors. There must be a compromise between the dynamic drive toward technological improvement and the static resistance to alteration of those human values that make life worthwhile.[1]

The importance of the preceding statements to anyone interested in assessing authentic cultural values as they exist in Latin America today cannot be understated. At the same time, the difficulties involved in making any kind of valid generalizations that could apply to all the peoples in this area of the world become increasingly apparent.

Systematic Approach to Culture

It is evident, therefore, that in order to analyze contemporary Hispanic culture with a desirable high degree of accuracy, a systematic, objective approach is necessary. Such an approach would require careful documentation from a variety of reputable sources, including materials in print, audio and video recordings, film, slides, photographs, and so on. Of utmost importance are the personal views, observations, and experiences of individuals within the target culture. These can be obtained through personal interviews, "live" presentations, and surveys, in addition to the sources already mentioned.

The theme of one of the exhibits at the Museum of Anthropology in Mexico City gives us our initial point of departure:

> *Todos los hombres resuelven las mismas necesidades con diferentes recursos y de distintos modos. Todas las culturas son igualmente valiosas.*

Man's basic humanity and the diverse way of expressing that humanity are succintly acknowledged in the quoted theme. So too is the integral validity of every pattern of culture. There is a clear inference that *all* cultures are *equally* valid because each culture responds in specific ways to the needs of the people within that culture.

Cross-Cultural Communication and Understanding

The contribution that the study of foreign languages and cultures can make to the total educational experience is both clear and significant, especially in terms of the two purposes in teaching culture outlined by Howard L. Nostrand: cross-cultural communication and understanding.[2] Teaching cross-cultural communication is one of the essential tasks of the foreign language teacher, since language is only meaningful in its cultural context. Special care needs to be exercised with words that may be the same or similar in more than one language (cognates), but have totally different connotations. An example is the word *propaganda*, which has a negative connotation in English, but a positive one in Spanish, meaning *good publicity*.

Regarding cross-cultural understanding, Nostrand further states that understanding should include "the psychological capacity to be magnanimous toward strange ways."[3] That kind of understanding fosters tolerance among fellow human beings with compassionate insight into the other person's makeup and behavior. An example of this can be seen in the following true story.

While working in an office administering welfare payments, a friend of mine met a Spanish gentleman whose financial circumstances had forced him to seek assistance from that office. It was evident that having to seek financial help was a difficult experience for the man; it had dealt a severe blow to his pride. Several days later, while accompanied by his wife and children, he met the welfare department employee by chance at a shopping center. "There was no doubt that he recognized me," related the employee, "but he could not bring himself to acknowledge it by speaking to me."

The immediate reaction might be one of, "*¡Ay, qué mal agradecido!*", followed by contempt for that behavior. To the contrary, the welfare employee had no hard feelings, because she recognized that the Spaniard's great sense of pride would not allow him to face up to the indignity of having to accept charity. Shame, not ingratitude, was the motivating force.

Not *all* Spaniards would have behaved in the same way, nor is there an implication that this one acted in the "right" way. It could be said that the Spanish gentleman was only considering his *own* feelings, and not those of the other party. However, in emotionally-charged, conflict-laden situations, individuals are usually overwhelmed by their own feelings, and their reactions are almost instinctive. Such instinctive behavior often relates to cultural values. Pride and dignity, *la dignidad de la persona* are cultural traits shared by most Spaniards. In a situation such as the one described, their influence certainly would be felt even though the outcome might not always be the same. In this case, the individual simply could not cope with another affront to his pride, regardless of the consequences.

The importance of cross-cultural understanding is evident. In recent times, the number of cross-cultural studies have increased in many disciplines. The *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* was founded in 1970.

Much of the research reviewed in that journal can be useful to the teacher of foreign cultures since the central aim of cross-cultural studies is to determine the kind of human behavior that is shared by more than one culture and that which is limited to one culture alone.

An interdisciplinary approach to the study of culture can be most helpful, since many disciplines complement each other and give additional insights into commonalities and differences. In that regard, H. Ned Seelye makes the following observations:

> The cross-cultural method of social studies classes and the indepth inquiry of language classes would seem to complement each other, the one affording a check against the generalizations of the other. It is difficult to conceive of a serious student of culture who does not comprehend the nature of language, and one is reluctant to accord confidence in the pronouncements of a person who knows but one culture. Singer further argues that one cannot understand a second culture without first understanding one's own. However, the reverse logic is equally appealing: the only way to understand one's own culture well is to understand another culture first.[4]

Definition of Hispanic Culture

According to Webster's Third New International Dictionary, *Hispanic* refers to "of or relating to the people, speech or culture of Spain, Spain and Portugal, or Latin America." In this paper the term Hispanic refers exclusively to the *Spanish speaking* people of the world and their culture, regardless of where they may live. For that reason, Portugal, Brazil, and other Portuguese speaking areas of the world are purposely excluded.

Included in the term Hispanic are Spain and Latin America, as well as other areas of the world where the Spanish language and patterns of culture have left an indelible mark of influence which continues to be felt in present times. Thus, Hispanic also includes Spain's present and former territorial possessions, such as the Balearic and Canary Islands, the Philippines, Equatorial Guinea, Spanish Morocco and Ifni, and the United States of America, listed in 1973 as the 5th largest Spanish speaking country in the world. Of special interest is the fact that in the United States we are dealing with a *subculture* that includes about 15 million people. The influence of the large number of Spanish speakers in this country is inescapable, as is the fact that Spanish is the official language of the largest number of countries in the world, most of which are in geographic proximity to the United States.

It is also significant that in a cross-cultural study of geocentrism conducted in 1972 with a number of university students, the United States sample of 44 students demonstrated that the "average American student was able to recall 12 countries in Europe, but only 3 in South America, 3 in Africa, and 6 in the Far East region of the Pacific."[5] Therefore, in terms of the results of this particular study, it is evident that relative proximity does not necessarily lead to greater knowledge, though certainly such knowledge seems both desirable and useful.

Hispanic Culture: The New and the Old

The broad classification of Hispanic culture encompassing the way of life of many millions of people in different geographic areas of the world necessitates that pertinent geographical information about those world regions be incorporated as a part of the content related to Hispanic culture study. It is significant, for example, that Latin America occupies about one-sixth of the earth's land surface, but that only one-third of it is suitable for agriculture, in spite of the fact that the Latin American economy has been, to a large extent, traditionally agricultural. Within the enormous expanse of the territory of Latin America there is great geographic diversity and a vast wealth of natural resources, many of which have not yet been tapped. The incredible beauty seen in the variety of Latin American landscapes masks the fact that here nature has presented many obstacles to man. Geography has determined to a large extent where the *now* more than 200 million people of Latin America have settled, and in doing so, has influenced their attitude toward life.

The "totality" of Hispanic culture is most important. Gaining insight into this totality requires a look at the whole as well as its individual parts. Commonalities and differences exist throughout the Spanish speaking world. Each country is an entity within itself, filled with many geographic and often climatic contrasts and a wide range of differences and similarities, which vary according to region and to a number of other factors. Some of these factors include the racial, socioeconomic, and educational backgrounds of the inhabitants, as well as their individual style, manner of dress, speech, and personality. Therefore, the theme of "multiplicity in one" or "*las mismas cosas en todas partes, eso sí, sólo que de otra manera*" (Ortega y Gasset)[6] can well be adopted to express the spirit of unity and diversity inherent in the Spanish speaking world.

Earlier, a reference was made to the current process of transformation taking place in Latin America, the largest area of the Spanish speaking world. In spite of this change, traditional common bonds with the mother country, Spain, still prevail and provide a unifying force. The bonds are primarily those of language, religion, social structure, a common base of Roman and Spanish law, similar judicial systems, art forms, and certain values and beliefs. However, it should not be assumed that the degree to which these bonds exist throughout Hispanic America is uniform, or that Spain has been the only source of influence in all of these key areas. Cross-cultural influences have been felt throughout Latin America in varying degrees. Of great impact was the culture of the existing Indian civilizations prior to Spanish colonization. Also important were the influences of African cultures, as well as those of other European nations and the United States of America. It is also interesting that Spain itself has been subject to a number of cross-cultural influences, brought about by the many different peoples who have settled in that country throughout its history.

In Hispanic America, the traditional bonds mentioned bear the national stamp of each of the individual countries that make up the region. For example, the Spanish language is understood by all educated peoples throughout the Spanish speaking world, but it has been enriched by the many regionalisms which exist in every Spanish speaking country and which are *not* shared by all. However, it should be emphasized that while the Spanish of Spain, Venezuela, Puerto Rico, Cuba, Argentina, or Mexico may differ, each brand of Spanish is perfectly correct and acceptable, as is that spoken in the rest of the Spanish speaking world. The wealth of literary contributions from throughout the Spanish speaking world attests to this fact. Further evidence is found in the *Real Academia de la Lengua Española* which includes representatives from throughout the Spanish speaking world and in the existence of additional *Academias Nacionales de la Lengua* in certain Hispanic American countries, including the newly christened one in the United States.

Although most Hispanic Americans, like the Spanish, are of the Catholic faith, freedom of religion exists throughout Spain and Latin America, and one finds there many other religious affiliations, notably Judaism and a number of Protestant denominations. In 1967 a special service where Catholics and Jews joined in prayer together was held in a church in Madrid for the first time in Spanish history. At present, the Catholic Church in parts of Latin America is one of the most dynamic forces influencing social change and reform. Although significant in itself, this fact gains additional relevance when one considers the number of people that can potentially be reached: two-thirds of the world's Catholics live on the American continents.

Another significant and promising change witnessed in many countries of Latin America today is the rapid growth of a new middle class that is taking its place between the already existing social classes of the upper aristocracy and the lower peasantry. The growth of the new middle class may be partially attributed to the use of technology that is bringing about changes in occupations and leading to a new way of life. Latin America has been called the fastest growing and most rapidly industrializing area of the world.

Great trade potential exists in Latin America. Favorable markets for their exports have been largely responsible for increasing the gross national product per capita by at least 3.4 percent each year since 1967 (1972 report).[7] According to Galo Plaza:

> the average per capita income of Latin America is over three times that of Africa and Asia. The per capita GNP of the larger countries in our region comes close to that of many highly industrialized nations. The future course of Latin American development may provide the pattern for other regions of the developing world.[8]

Common Problems

There is reason to feel optimistic about the future of Latin America, but at the same time there are some harsh realities to be faced. All Latin American countries have certain problems in common, and these difficulties exist in each country in varying degrees.

A key problem is the geographical imbalance of the population—overpopulation in some areas and underpopulation in others. There is a population explosion throughout most of Latin America, with a concentration of people in most of the major urban centers. Large numbers of people are leaving the rural areas in search of a better life in the city. Their expectations often are unfulfilled due to a lack of skills, insufficient education, and the unavailability of suitable employment. Instant slums are created with highly inadequate housing facilities. The result is a breeding ground of discontent and despair, leading to political unrest and countless social problems, including drug use and crime.

The seriousness of the problem is recognized by the government leaders in each country, and extensive programs for building and improving living conditions are underway in various countries. The Organization of American States also is extending a helping hand through implementation of specific programs and specialized organizations, such as the *Instituto Interamericano del Niño*, headed by Rafael Sajón. At a session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States held in Atlanta in 1974, Sajón made the following remarks:

> *El principio esencial de la cooperación, de la seguridad colectiva hemisférica, está referida a la satisfacción o al descontento de los pueblos: Alimentación, analfabetismo, vivienda, servicios sanitarios, capacitación para el trabajo, mercado de empleo, recreación, etc. Pero fundamentalmente al trato, a la formación que reciben los niños, los adolescentes, los jóvenes, la familia legítima o natural, la comunidad en la que están insertas estas familias, porque aquellos constituyen aproximadamente el 60% de la población de América Latina.*[9]

Sajón also refers to the high mortality rate of children, the high rate of school dropouts, the need for special education for at least 10 percent of the school population, the need for personnel training in that area, and the need for educating and finding employment for young people. This last problem is particularly acute because in 1970 about 60 percent of the population was under 24 years of age, 42 percent under 14, and in one country 70 percent of the population was under 27.

Sajón emphasizes the need for continued support, and praises the following OAS resolution which gave impetus to that support as early as 1967:

> *1. La necesidad de afianzar la institución familiar bajo los aspectos económicos, sociales y jurídicos, a fin de que pueda cumplir mejor con sus funciones propias. 2. Incorporar a la mujer latinoamericana por medio de los organismos gubernamentales y no gubernamentales que las representan, en la*

> *elaboración de los planes de desarrollo y en la ejecución de los mismos. 3. Prestar preferente atención a la niñez e intensificar los planes de promoción de la juventud.*[10]

The complex problem of overcrowding and overpopulation can be alleviated in some countries through a redistribution of the population to the more sparsely populated regions of that country. There is a present need for manpower to help develop certain areas that have been geographically isolated from civilization because of their hostile environment. The use of modern technology and communications can bring these areas under man's control as long as the people are physically, psychologically, and intellectually ready to do so. The development of the model city of Ciudad Guayana in the interior of Venezuela is an example of how such an enterprise can be successfully undertaken.

While technology and industrialization are essential to development, their presence also creates problems, such as air pollution, which is particularly serious in some of the large Latin American cities, including Lima and Bogotá. Other related problems include immediate job training and the attempt to immediately fulfill the rising expectations of the poor, now more than ever aware of the existence of a better way of life through their exposure to mass communication media. Transistor radios are available even for the very poor, who also have access to television in many public places.

Recent Influence of Science and Pragmatism

There is a new interest in the sciences and pragmatism, particularly on the part of the young. Many Latin American university students are interested in anthropology and archaeology, and the number of experts in both fields is increasing. This is significant in view of the fact that in the not too distant past, the only experts in these fields to be found in Latin America were foreigners. The interest in these areas may be related to the emphasis on individual national identities and the new awareness of the contributions of the advanced Indian civilizations existing in pre-Hispanic times. In Mexico and in other parts of Hispanic America, the word *azteca* has become synonymous with *mexicano*,[11] a strong evidence of pride in their Indian past. Notably it was a Mexican, José Vasconcelos, who proposed that the Hispanic American is the man of the future, since he represents a blend of races–*la raza cósmica*. However, pride in the Indian heritage does not always carry with it respect for or acceptance of the present-day lower-class Indian, as indicated by a recent study (1973) in Peru on group membership and belief similarity as determinants of interpersonal attraction.[12]

It also should be remembered that the number of those actually dedicated to the scientific areas mentioned, or to the sciences in general, is still relatively small, particularly when compared to other fields. As noted earlier, the important factor is that a new interest in science seems to be emerging.

This increasing interest in science notwithstanding, however, the Hispanic character still sees himself primarily as *el hombre de pasión* or *el hombre de carne y hueso*, one who concerns himself with humanistic values related to the self (one's being, individuality, dignity, serenity, pride, creative personal expression, aesthetic appreciation, etc.) and to other persons (interpersonal relationships, etc.). The "traditional" Hispanic character feels alienated by the cold abstractions and self-detachment of science. Perhaps the Hispanic concept of time and the love of improvisation and spontaneity, in conflict with the required method and detailed precision of science, have contributed to the traditional contempt for science, expressed in such popular humoristic terms as *no tenemos esa capacidad de aburrimiento.*

It is possible that the new awareness of the benefits of science may have changed such attitudes. Yet, the term *no tiene ciencia*, meaning that something is simple or easy, still continues to be used.

Nationalism

A nationalistic fervor is felt in all countries of Latin America. In response to it and probably also in protest to the uniformity of modern times, there is an emphasis on the preservation of old traditions. A desire exists to retain and intensify the national character of folk art, music, dances, songs, and traditional clothes. Typical foods continue to be consumed at home and many now are prepared and packaged for use abroad. In each country there is a government agency dedicated to the preservation and dissemination of culture (*Ministerio de Educacion y*

Cultura). Under its sponsorship many outstanding folkloric music and dance troupes have been created, such as *el Ballet Folklórico de México* and *Danzas Venezuela*, both world famous.

Although limited, the above remarks serve to point out the one essential characteristic of Hispanic culture: its multifaceted nature, often expressed in contrasts that exist side by side, each exerting its influence. Perhaps most significant is the respect for the past, for one's heritage, for that which is old (especially old people–*respeto a las canas; mayores en edad, saber y gobierno*), coupled with the desire to keep up with the new, to be considered *moderno y progresista.*

Content Development in Hispanic Culture Study

The previous section attempted to focus attention on *some* of the current trends, underlying forces, and present problems existing in Latin America today. These aspects have strong implications for content development in Hispanic culture study and were used by the writer in Step IV of the *Viva Nuestra Amistad* teleseries. Their purpose was to serve as a background, enabling the student to make comparisons and contrasts to his own culture, and leading him to formulate and express his own individual views.

Prior to making any content determinations, some major considerations need to be dealt with regarding the appropriateness of specific cultural topics for different levels of language and culture study, and the manner in which these topics are to be presented. These considerations include the following:

1. The assessment of student needs, backgrounds, and interests
2. The determination of end-of-course objectives stated in terms of student "learnings"
3. A structural inventory of basic cultural topics arranged in order of importance
4. The identification of available human and material resources
5. The determination of methods to be used
6. The determination of when English or the target language should be used
7. The determination of the time and emphasis placed on culture study, keeping in mind that communicative language use in speci-

fic situations is in itself culture study

8. The determination of the desired level of contrast between the student's own culture and the target culture stressing familiar, universal aspects in the early stages and unfamiliar, more complex aspects in the later stages.

Although not presented in any specific order, a checklist such as the above used at various times throughout the year helps the teacher "stay on course" in terms of what is expected. It also can serve as a useful reference for the preparation of specific lesson objectives.

An example of how these considerations were used to make content determinations can be seen in the following brief overview of the *Viva Nuestra Amistad* television series. The initial exposure to Hispanic culture in the series is at the simplest or surface level of contrast between the Hispanic and Anglo-Saxon cultures. The level of society introduced first is primarily upper middle class. Content development is centered around the framework of an expanding environment, starting with the home and family, extending into the neighborhood and community, going beyond to the city and country, finally crossing national boundaries. The skeletal framework consists of the individual, the culture, and the society, in that order.

In Step IV of the series, some of the areas presented in the earlier levels are dealt with in more depth, and new topics are added. In addition to showing the way of life of the Spanish speaking peoples by depicting events in their daily lives, some of the presentations are designed to facilitate an understanding of how Spanish speaking people view the world. These presentations provide students the opportunity to compare Hispanic patterns of culture with those found in the United States. It is at this point in the series that one finds the deepest and most complex level of contrast between the cultures.

Of key importance throughout the series are those areas of the culture which often call for behavioral responses on the part of the students. They include:

1. Responding to social proprieties involving greetings, introductions, leavetaking, invitations, and addressing members of different social age groups
2. Relating to friends and members of the immediate and extended family, expressing affection in letters and personal encounters

3. Social customs in using chaperones, in shopping, and in wearing modern and traditional dress
4. Common elements in celebrations with people of all ages—the use of music, dance, and verbal improvisation, the *ambiente* of merriment, the importance of religious and secular holidays, the significance of one's birthday and saint's day
5. Eating customs, special foods, diversions, and pastimes.

The second set of topics presented relates more to the understanding of Latin American culture and focuses on the geographic and ethnic diversity of America. Some of the topics covered in the series include:

1. The role of geographic diversity, religion, language, and national identity
2. The Hispanic concept of time and attitudes toward education and social change
3. The use of ceremony in customs and celebrations, the influence of the past on the present, and the role of cross-cultural influences
4. The themes of individualism, regionalism, *dignidad*, honor, pride, love of country, aesthetic appreciation
5. Spanish influence in the United States, the evolving relationship between the United States and the Hispanic world including the mutual influence they exert on each other.

The title of the series *Viva Nuestra Amistad* expresses the hope that a greater knowledge of a people and an ability to communicate with them will lead to the development of a mutual friendship. The writer considers it of the utmost importance that the presentation of a people and their way of life be done with dignity and sensitivity, in a manner not offensive to the living representatives of Hispanic culture. Nevertheless, unpleasant "realities" are presented as well as the positive aspects of culture. There is a concerted effort to accurately and objectively present both strengths and weaknesses, to show both sides of a question without editorializing and drawing a final conclusion.

Notes

1. Galo Plaza, *Latin America, Today and Tomorrow* (Washington, D. C.: Acropolis Books, 1971), p. 11.

2. H. Ned Seelye, "Analysis and Teaching of the Cross-Cultural Context" in *Foreign Language Education: An Overview*, edited by Emma Birkmaier, volume 1 ACTFL Review of Foreign Language Education (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1972), pp. 37-81.
3. Howard L. Nostrand, "Levels of Sociocultural Understanding for Language Classes," in *A Handbook on Latin America for Teachers: Methodology and Annotated Bibliography*, edited by H. Ned Seelye (Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1968), pp. 19-24.
4. Seelye, "Analysis and Teaching of Cross-Cultural Context," p. 47.
5. James O. Whittaker and S. J. Whittaker, "A Cross-Cultural Study of Geocentrism," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 3 (December 1972): 417-22.
6. Luis Leal and John H. Silverman, *Siglo Veinte* (New York: Holt, Rinehart, and Winston, 1968).
7. Press release of speech delivered by William P. Rogers, then U. S. Secretary of State, before the General Assembly of the Organization of American States, Washington, D. C., April 1972.
8. Plaza, *Latin America, Today and Tomorrow*, p. 12.
9. Press release of speech delivered by Rafael Sajón, Director of the Instituto Interamericano del Niño, at a special session of the Organization of American States, Atlanta, Georgia, April 1974.
10. *Ibid.*
11. Leopolodo Zea, "El Indio," in *Siglo Veinte*, p. 114.
12. Arthur P. Bergeron and Mark P. Zanna, "Group Membership and Belief Similarity as Determinants of Interpersonal Attraction in Peru," *Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology* 4 (December 1973): 397-409.

6

A Look at Americans of German Descent

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A paper addressed to the topic of Germans in America must begin by asking whether the topic is valid. The answer is complex and multiple. If by "Germans in the United States" is meant the pan-German notion of a dominant German culture existing within the larger American body politic–in other words, the existence of a *Deutschtum im Ausland*–then the answer is no. But if we ask whether there ever existed a viable, mini-German civilization on American soil, then the answer is yes. From about 1840 until 1920 the German element in the United States, though fragmented, was so substantial as to pose questions to the non-German society in America. Relatively speaking, however, the German element disappeared through assimilation during the 1920s and 1930s.

The Statistical Picture

Nevertheless, even as late as 1970, the U. S. Census Reports indicate that the number of German-born persons living in the United States exceeded the totals of all other foreign-born people in the country with the exception of those from Italy. Specifically, there were 832,965 German-born persons residing in America as compared to 1,008,533 Italians. If the totals are taken for foreign stock–persons born abroad as well as children born in families where at least one parent was born in the foreign country–then the total of Germans in the United States in 1970 rises to 3,622,035 as compared to 4,240,779 persons of Italian stock. Thus, in the mid-1970s the German-born and persons of German stock in the United States represent the second largest foreign element in the country and constitute a small, though significant, percentage of the total population of the United States.

Looking at the German element in America in terms of mother-tongue speakers of German as reported in the 1970 Census, there were 6,093,054 German speaking persons living in the United States. Since native speakers of German include those from Austria and other pockets of Middle and Eastern Europe where German is spoken, the total number of people with German as a mother tongue in 1970 substantially exceeded the 4,144,315 persons who indicated Italian as their mother tongue. Seen in this perspective, the German element continues to be relatively stronger than any other foreign element in the United States. However, in 1970, for the first time in the history of the United States Census Reports, the number of people in the United States who spoke Spanish as their mother tongue exceeded the total number of German speakers. The Spanish speaking population in 1970 was reported to be 7,823,583. Needless to say, the increase of Spanish speaking people derived not from a single foreign nation but from a large number of countries in the Western Hemisphere.

Considered in percentages of non-English mother-tongue persons, speakers of Spanish dwelling in the United States in 1970 accounted for 17.8 percent of the non-English speakers, the Germans for 12.6 percent, and the Italians for 10.8 percent. In analyzing the data of 1970, the reader in 1975 should assume that, if anything, Spanish speaking Americans have increased while the numbers of persons speaking German and Italian have at most remained constant. The growth of Spanish speaking inhabitants in the United States is a recent development that occurred since the 1960 Census Reports were compiled. In 1960, the German language was spoken as a mother tongue by 13.1 percent of the total foreign-born population while the Italian language was used natively by 12.6 percent and Spanish was spoken by a relatively small 7.7 percent of the foreign-born population in the United States.

While trying not to overburden the reader with too many statistics, it might be well to note further that the German stock population in the United States during the 1960s and 1970s continues to be found in the regions that received the heaviest concentrations of German immigrants during the 19th century. Using the U. S. Census model for the clustering of states, these areas can be designated as Middle Atlantic (New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania), East North Central (Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin), and West North Central (Minnesota, Iowa, Missouri, North Dakota, South Dakota, Nebraska, and Kansas). Over a period of a century and a half, these three regions have accounted for the vast majority of Germans in the United States, both from a historical and current perspective. There are only three places outside this "German Belt" where persons of German stock are found in significant concentrations in the 1970s. Two of them, California and Texas, have always been favorite target areas for German settlers in America. The other, Florida, is a recent development, and its approximately 90,000 German stock population is relatively small in comparison to the hundreds of thousands found in California and in each of the north central states.

In rounding off the statistical picture, mention should be made of the outstanding fact that during the period from 1820-1970, there were more immigrants who came to the United States from Germany than from any other country in the world, including Great Britain. Rounding all figures downward to make them even, the following summary table depicts the facts.

Immigration by country 1820-1970

Austria-Hungary	4,200,000
Denmark	350,000
France	720,000
Germany	6,800,000
Great Britain	4,760,000
Greece	540,000
Ireland	4,700,000
Italy	5,100,000
Netherlands	340,000
Norway	850,000
Poland	480,000
Portugal	330,000
Sweden	1,200,000

Switzerland	340,000
U.S.S.R.	3,300,000

(Data taken from Appendix in Alberta Eiseman, *From Many Lands*, New York: Atheneum, 1970).

Three important observations emanate from the above data. First, it can be assumed that a relatively large percentage of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary were German speaking and that, once in America, these people identified strongly with the peoples born in the German states. Since the German nation did not exist prior to 1870, the one bond between such peoples from central Europe who lived subsequently in the United States was the German language they used in common. Let us categorize one-third of the immigrants from Austria-Hungary as German speaking, namely, 1.4 million.

Second, about 70 percent of the population of Switzerland is German speaking. Therefore it would not be claiming too much if we included two-thirds of the Swiss immigrants in the German speaking total in America, namely, 220,000.

Finally, reliable estimates indicate that at least 100,000 immigrants from the U.S.S.R. were ethnic Germans from the Volga River and Black Sea regions of Russia. These too must be included in the overall German speaking immigration to the United States.

It would not be an exaggeration, then, to conclude that at least 8,520,000 German speaking people immigrated to the United States between 1820 and 1970. Census data for the period prior to 1820 are not available. The composite 8.5 million figure significantly surpasses the total number of immigrants from all of Great Britain and approaches the combined total of immigrants from both Great Britain and Ireland. In concluding the statistical picture, we should note that immigrants from the British Isles who arrived prior to the American Revolutionary War probably surpassed numerically those arriving from any other nation. However, the only other nation that contributed significant numbers of immigrants during colonial times was Germany. In particular, large numbers of German religious dissenters settled in Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia during the pre-Revolutionary War period. The peoples referred to as Pennsylvania Dutch accounted for the majority of German (*Deutsch*) settlers who inhabited colonial America.

Causes of Immigration: Economic

In an historical perspective the causes of German immigration to the United States fall in three major categories: economic, religious, and political. The single most important cause was economic. To the struggling German farmer and incipient industrial worker America looked like the promised land. After the enactment of the Homestead Act in 1862, the German immigrant was attracted especially to the good, cheap soil in Middle West America. Even prior to 1862, however, there was a seemingly inexhaustible amount of land and opportunity offered cheaply by the U. S. Government and private industry respectively. In return, both the government and private enterprise stood to benefit from heavy immigration. German immigrants were always considered to be desirable farmers and employees, reputed for perseverance, patience, thrift, respect for authority, and skillful hands.

Therefore, agents of steamship companies, real estate promoters, and staff personnel of young midwestern states eager for increased population spent much time and money recruiting the German artisan and farmer. Likewise, the 19th century German traveler in the United States wrote volume after volume singing the glories of America. Lured to the awakening lands by glowing descriptions, the new settlers realized many of their dreams and created a returning tide of "America letters" to friends and relatives. Many of these letters were reprinted in newspapers and served to encourage further emigration. Later in the 19th century, the railroads contributed significantly to immigration by enticing Germans to settle their land grants. During and after the American Civil War, several American industries made special efforts to secure German artisans and tradesmen for their expanding programs. The latter effort was less extensive than the railroad campaigns, mainly because the railroads had inexpensive land for sale while the industrial promoters could not offer a great deal more than could the burgeoning industries of Wilhelmine Germany.

Causes of Immigration: Religious

The second set of factors that help explain German immigration is religious in nature. The majority of Germans who arrived in the United

States prior to the Revolutionary War did so because they experienced religious oppression in their homeland. Soon after William Penn secured a charter for the Colony of Pennsylvania, he published a description of the land in London. In the same year this account appeared in German translation. As a result, in 1683 the first shipload of German Pietists led by Franz Daniel Pastorius arrived on the *Concord* to found the city of Germantown, now part of greater Philadelphia. Shortly thereafter, several other religious sects also sought refuge in the colony. Perhaps the most distinctive among them were the mystics under the leadership of Johann Kelpius who settled along the Wissahichon River near Germantown. Others were the Seventh Day Adventists led by Conrad Beissel who established the cloister of Ephrata. There were also the Mennonites, whose vanguard arrived in 1707. The larger population came between 1717 and 1732 when at least 3,000 Swiss and Rhenish Palatinate Mennonites joined the established families of a decade earlier.

Another sect that found refuge in Pennsylvania was a subgroup of the Mennonites, the Anabaptists, who were followers of the elder Jakob Amman. Gradually such other subgroups as the *Schwenkfelders* and the Dunkards (or Tunkers) established their settlements in the region west of Philadelphia. In time the people in those counties came to be known as the Plain People or the Pennsylvania Dutch. Other Protestant denominations also were attracted to Pennsylvania. Conflicts arose in the homeland when the King of Prussia forced the German Reformed and Lutheran congregations into a union of one official state church. Consequently, both Lutherans and Reformed German church members settled in Pennsylvania and other American colonies. By the time the American Revolutionary War broke out, the two basic Protestant German groups, Lutheran and Reformed, far outnumbered the other sects of German descent. There were also many Catholic Germans among the colonial settlers, but they were far less numerous than their Protestant countrymen. In addition to these religious groups, there was one other large German language religious group in colonial America. Known as the United Brethren, the *Herrnhuter*, or simply the Moravians, they settled first in Georgia, then moved to Salem, South Carolina, and Bethlehem, Pennsylvania. The colonial Moravians rightfully have been lauded for their missionary work among the American Indians.

Causes of Immigration: Political

The third reason for heavy German immigration to the United States was political. Thousands of Germans settled in America because of oppression or because of gross governmental mismanagement in their homelands. The lion's share of these immigrants came from the territory west of the Rhine, especially the *Pfalz* (Palatinate) which had been severely ravaged during the Thirty Years' War (1618-48). In the course of succeeding decades, French kings devastated additional lands in the western parts of Germany. As a result, the surviving rulers of the small German states put such severe financial pressures on their subjects that many fled to find refuge in the newly established English colonies in America. Many petty German princes forbade emigration. Some seized boatloads of fleeing German subjects. Nevertheless, a large number of them escaped by way of Le Havre in France and Rotterdam in Holland.

The second wave of German political refugees to arrive in the United States can be divided into two groups. The first was part of a liberal movement that culminated in several unsuccessful uprisings of youthful patriots against petty German princes in 1830. The second group was much larger and resulted from the failure in 1848 of liberal revolutionaries to overthrow the governments, especially those in the cities of Berlin and Vienna, and in the duchies of southwest Germany. The latter political refugees and expellees found refuge in America where they came to be known as *Dreissiger* and *Achtundvierziger* among themselves and as "Forty-eighters" to the English speaking population as a whole.

Because of the abortive revolutions in Germany, the United States received a group of German immigrants who represented men of property, education, and social standing. Many, among them the famous Carl Schurz, became distinguished German American leaders in intellectual and political circles. Others joined the farmer-worker class and gained influence and distinction far transcending their numerical strength. Of course, some failed to adjust to the rigors of life in pioneer America. While they could read Virgil and Homer in their original Latin and Greek versions, they knew little about breaking and harrowing prairie soils. Certain native Americans called them derisively the "Latin Farmers."

Vociferous, strongheaded, often liberal to the point of being radical, the Forty-eighters became militant critics of America's numerous religious sects. Many of them were Freethinkers who could not countenance organized religions and, in particular, the established clergy. Frequently these outspoken new immigrants touched off sparks of criticism both from native Americans and from former German immigrants who found their countrymen of recent arrival too opinionated and even bigoted. While some Forty-eighters stirred conflict, most of them brought social, cultural, and intellectually broadening activities to every community where they settled. In the major cities, where they tended to settle most often, their actions helped to further interest in drama, music, education, and especially journalism.

No doubt more Forty-eighters went into journalism than any other profession, but even as they wrote and published newspapers, they practiced professions as artists, doctors, tutors, lawyers, educators, and merchants. In particular, they stimulated the interest of their fellow countrymen in politics. Schurz, for example, followed an important career as a journalist but was also a general in the Civil War, a Senator from Missouri, ambassador to Spain and vote-getter for Abraham Lincoln. Joseph Pulitzer, a German speaking Jew from Hungary began his rise to fame working with a German American newspaper. Gustav Körner was also a journalist in addition to being a jurist, Illinois politician, and foreign diplomat.

After a quarter century in America, the Forty-eighters had mellowed and blended into the native demographic landscape. During the second half of the 19th century, travel facilities improved markedly and financial conditions quickened with the result that there was a high concentration of immigration from Germany throughout the remainder of the century. Between 1848 and 1900, more than 50,000 Germans immigrated annually to the United States. Between 1865 and 1876 the average surpassed 125,000 annually, and during 1882-83 the figure reached 250,000. After 1890, however, German immigration dropped off substantially to an annual rate of about 25,000 until 1914 when it ceased completely due to the outbreak of World War I. After World War I the U. S. Congress began to restrict immigration. Several bills to stem the influx of immigrants were signed into law between 1921 and 1929. Thereafter the quota system was in effect. It was rather liberal to the Germans because it was proportioned according to the number of immigrants who previously had settled in the United States. However, the Germans never came near to filling their quota in any one year.

After 1933 when Adolf Hitler seized power in Germany, there arrived what might be called the third wave of political and religious refugees to American shores. The first came during America's colonial period, the second after the failure of the 1848 revolutions. Statistically, the first migration was the largest, the second much smaller though extremely influential, and the third also relatively small but significant. During the entire period between 1930 and 1941, only slightly more than 100,000 refugees came to the United States from Germany as well as Austria after the annexation of 1938. Unlike the vast numbers of Germans who came for personal and economic reasons, the religious and political emigrés of the 1930s were often older and tended to be accompanied by their families. This differed significantly from the economically motivated immigrant who frequently was unmarried, young, and male. Understandably, the majority among them were Jewish. Among the 100,000 emigrés, only 7,500 listed specific professions. It appears, therefore, that the vast majority were artisans, craftsmen, and workers. Many, especially the distinguished and the famous, such as novelist Thomas Mann, dramatist Bertolt Brecht, and the hundreds of others, returned to Germany after World War II. But thousands remained, particularly the young who had come to America with their parents and received their higher education in the United States. The best known among this latter group is Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. Born in Fürth, Germany in 1923, Kissinger left at the age of 15 to continue his life in the United States. He earned his doctorate at Harvard in 1954 where he remained until he accepted the president's call to become national security adviser and eventually Secretary of State.

Influence of Political Refugees

In summary fashion, let us list a few of the accomplishments and influences of the Forty-eighters and the 20th century political refugees. First the former. Besides their journalistic and publishing activities, the Forty-eighters promoted political freedom and frontier settlement. They were outspokenly antislavery and probably helped precipitate the Civil War. They also fostered colonization societies, among them the

Giessener Auswanderungs Gesellschaft which planned to make a German state out of Arkansas. The *Mainzer Adelsverein* was interested in the settlement of Texas. While these societies had their origin in Germany, there were many parallel groups that originated in the United States, such as the Pittsburgh Homestead Association, the Cincinnati German Association, the Chicago *Land Verein* which developed the town of New Ulm, Minnesota, and others.

Likewise, it was due largely to the Forty-eighters that German language theaters operated regularly in all of the major cities in the German Belt: Chicago, New York, Cleveland, Milwaukee, Cincinnati, St. Louis, St. Paul, Columbus, and Philadelphia. They also promoted societies for better music, more libraries, and mutual aid programs as well as the usual beer gardens and other social organizations. With courage, they participated in the Civil War. At least 176,000 German-born soldiers fought for the Union, the largest numbers coming from New York, Missouri, Ohio, Illinois, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin. There were also whole German units from Louisiana and Georgia fighting for the Confederacy.

After 1870, immigration from Germany was marked by different characteristics. Following the Franco-Prussian War, fewer peasants migrated to the United States. Rather, dissatisfied peasants from various districts of Germany gravitated to jobs in Germany's growing industrial centers. In turn, many skilled artisans, businessmen, and workers were attracted by the rather more progressive industrial opportunities available in the United States. These later immigrants were different in several ways. They seldom practiced the biting criticism of German or American politics so typical of the Forty-eighters. They were less radical and quite unconcerned about social welfare issues. Seemingly, their only concern was their own economic improvement. One of the primary outcomes of this change was that the Germans in the last quarter of the 19th century were assimilated much more rapidly than before. They cared little about preserving their own brand of German culture. Consequently, in the 1880s there arose concerted efforts to preserve the German language and to promote German religious centers as a means of countering the steady process of Americanization.

Before describing those efforts by leaders in the churches and schools, let us follow through on the contribution of the 20th century influx of refugees, those who arrived during the 1930s. Their contributions fall in two categories: institutional and individual. Two institutions stand out. The *Bauhaus* and the University in Exile at the New School for Social Research in New York City both were genuine German transplants to the United States. A third, the experimental Black Mountain College near Asheville, North Carolina, attracted many German refugee intellectuals, but was not really a German entity.

The *Bauhaus* was founded by Walter Gropius in Weimar in April 1919. His idea was to bring art and technology together in such a way as to reorient the mechanized, technical world toward the powers of reason in order that a humanized unity might evolve. However, creativity could not exist comfortably in Nazi Germany and therefore, in 1933, the *Bauhaus* was forced into exile. In 1937, gradually it found new life through a merger with Illinois Institute of Technology, Chicago. Such great architects as Gropius, Marcel Breuer, Ludwig Mies van der Rohe, and others came to the United States and prospered here at the transplanted *Bauhaus.*

The University in Exile came into being in 1933 with a front page headline on August 19 in the *New York Times*: EXILES' UNIVERSITY OPENS HERE OCT. 1; FACULTY GERMAN. The University in Exile was an alias for the core faculty of the Political and Social Science Department at the New School for Social Research. More than 250 scholars came in all; among the first were Max Wertheimer, founder of Gestalt psychology, the economists Karl Brandt and Gerhard Colm, both later to become members of the President's Council of Economic Advisors, Max Ascoli, later publisher of the *Reporter*, and the political theorist, Arnold Brecht. When the institution celebrated its 40th anniversary in 1973, West German Chancellor Willy Brandt attended as an honored guest.

More spectacular, perhaps, than either of these two institutions was the immigration of individual German scientists whose efforts resulted in the wartime release of nuclear energy. More than 100 refugees from Fascist European countries joined the American scientific team in 1941 to work on the atomic bomb. Most arrived after the Nazis effectively closed the German universities. Four of them, Albert Einstein, James Frank, Otto Loewi, and Victor Hess, had been awarded Nobel Prizes before their arrival while others gained the coveted prize for work done in the United States. Among the latter were Felix Block (1952), Otto

Stern (1943), Konrad Bloch (1964), and Hans Bethe (1967). J. Robert Oppenheimer, the controversial physicist whom the Manhattan Project planners put in charge of building the atomic bomb, was an American by birth, but German by education. Edward Teller, considered the primary moving force behind the development of the hydrogen bomb, actually was born in Hungary of German stock, and spent his entire academic career in Germany before coming to the United States. Leo Szilard, Erwin Schrodinger, and especially Max Delbruck were among several scientists who did research that led to the final synthesis of the secret of life, now known as the Crick-Watson model of DNA.

In the field of space travel the United States' program also was greatly enhanced by the infusion of German talent. Rocket scientists did not come during the 1930s but rather after the conclusion of World War II. Thanks to "Operation Paperclip," the code name for American military planners to secure as many scientific personnel and pieces of equipment as possible, some 120 scientists and a dozen ships filled with equipment were brought to the United States. The preeminent figure among them was Wernher von Braun who had achieved his initial success as a rocket specialist in 1934 and had played a leading role in the development of the infamous V-2. Once established in the United States and given proper financial support, the von Braun team developed the Redstone Missle that carried America's first satellite into orbit, and the Saturn 5 that sent 10 astronauts to the moon.

Having looked at the contributions of the political refugees to American society, let us turn to the problems faced by the less illustrious German American community during the last quarter of the 19th century and the first quarter of the 20th. It faced a two-pronged threat to its existence. The forces of disintegration from within accelerated as the turn of the century approached. New immigration, a necessary ingredient to nourish the waning presence of German culture abroad, had slowed dramatically. Then, when the United States found itself at war with the German Fatherland during the second decade of the new century, the German American community was confronted with suspicion, hatred, and torment on the part of their fellow Americans.

The Church in German American Life

In the late 19th century, there were three main facets of the German culture in America: the church, the school, and the German American Alliance. In terms of influence, the two most important German religions were the Lutheran and Catholic churches. The smaller sects were not necessarily less prominent but simply less strong numerically than they had been in the previous century. To be sure, such minority groups as the Mennonites and their various subgroups have outlasted the larger German speaking communities right up to the present. There were also large memberships in the German Methodist, German Reformed, Moravian, Baptist, and Presbyterian churches.

In colonial times the Lutherans from Germany were under the leadership of their great patriarch, Heinrich Muhlenberg. The major influx of German Lutherans, however, came in 1838 and during the years that followed. These were the Saxon Lutherans who traveled to New Orleans and up the Mississippi to Perry County and St. Louis, Missouri. They were led by the distinguished Carl F. W. Walther who wielded great power among the Lutheran congregations until his death in 1887. St. Louis has remained the center of German Lutheranism in the United States. Other pivotal strongholds sprang up near Fort Wayne, Indiana, and Columbus, Ohio, and in Illinois, Wisconsin, and Michigan. The Franconian colonies in the Saginaw Valley were the result of German missionary activities among the Indians.

The German Missouri Synod did not drop the term German from its official designation until 1917. It was forced by public opinion to emend its name when major newspapers attacked it after the American entry into the first world war. During the early days of the conflict when the United States was ostensibly neutral, the Missouri Synod had vigorously denounced America's arms trade. This brought about charges of harboring enemy agents and breeding hotbeds of treason. As a consequence of pressure, the German language came to be used less and less for church functions, although official conventions and proceedings had always been conducted in German. Already in the 19th century many Lutherans favored switching to English. Therefore the transition in the 20th century was not only dictated from without but also nourished from within certain sections of the church's leadership.

The German Catholic church in the United States faced conflicts quite different from those met by the Lutherans. First, it should be noted that the major influx of German Catholics to America paralleled the onslaught of Irish Catholics. The Irish, because of their knowledge of the English language, were in most respects better equipped to cope with life in a new land. Likewise, they were not only more urban than the Germans, they were also concentrated in the older established Atlantic states, and therefore produced the clergy who dominated the Catholic hierarchy in America. Beginning about the middle of the 19th century, it became something of a policy for the Catholic church to appoint German speaking bishops in the Midwest dioceses. Recognizing the need to have German speaking priests to minister to their parishes, these bishops at first imported pastors from Germany but later decided to develop their own German speaking seminaries where priests could be trained for ministering to Catholics in the German communities of the Midwest.

Out of this set of policies in the so-called "German triangle of the West," Milwaukee, Cincinnati, and St. Louis, there developed an embittered quarrel between the German and Irish elements in the Catholic church. It was labelled Cahenslyism after Peter Paul Cahensly, a prominent German who started the St. Raphael Society with branches in Europe and America for the purpose of aiding Catholic emigrants. Cahensly's name became attached to the controversy when representatives of the St. Raphael Societies met in Lucerne, Switzerland, in 1890 and drafted a resolution calling on the papacy to establish parishes in the United States that would be separated along nationality lines and would have clergy from the same ethnic backgrounds as the faithful. For a time schism threatened the Catholic church in America, but assimilation progressed in spite of efforts to retain nationality consciousness and the problems eventually were resolved peaceably.

German Catholics in America benefited much from societies and organizations that existed in Germany and Austria for the purposes of aiding the fledgling church in the United States. In addition to the already mentioned St. Raphael Society, the Benedictine Order sent numerous missionaries to the United States to establish strongholds for the church. Benedictine efforts accounted for Abbot Wimmer's Abbey of St. Vincent in Westmoreland County, Pennsylvania, St. John's Abbey in Collegeville, Minnesota, and many others. Whereas spiritual and pastoral aid came from immigrant monastic and secular priests, financial aid from Europe was funneled through two special societies, the *Leopoldinen Stiftung* of Vienna and the *Ludwig Missionsverein* of Munich. The former was founded in 1829 at the urging of the Bishop of Cincinnati and the latter in 1838 to supplement the former. Both foundations contributed significant amounts of money for the construction of churches, monasteries, seminaries, and schools. There were also countless Catholic mutual aid societies, some strictly local, others with statewide scope. In 1855 an attempt was made to bring all of these into a central organization that later came to be known simply as the *Central-Verein*. Its period of greatest significance came when it was reorganized and headed by the dynamic Catholic lay leader, Frederick P. Kenkel.

The School in German American Life

The German American schools were another fascinating aspect of German life in the United States. The following general characteristics of the German-language schools can be noted. They were primarily private parochial elementary schools, sponsored by religious leaders who felt that people in their pastoral care would lose their faith if they lost their native German language. Some high schools in the New World also used German as the medium of instruction but higher education, being suspect of the fundamentalist German speaking members of religious sects, remained the domain of an English speaking population. Exceptions to this practice were the theological schools of the Lutheran and Catholic churches, for example, Capital University in Ohio, Concordia Seminary in St. Louis, St. Francis Seminary in Milwaukee, and the Josephinum Seminary in Ohio.

In addition to the religious German-language schools, there were many private schools of a nondenominational nature, begun by the intellectual Forty-eighters after 1850 and before the Civil War. For example, the whole notion of the kindergarten was imported to the United States before the Civil War and continued for decades as a private institution independent of any church or public organization. After the Civil War, private efforts of a nondenominational nature sprang up especially at the hand of such organizations as the *Nord-Amerikanischer Turnerbund* which spearheaded the drive for the *Turnlehrer-Seminar* in Milwaukee.

Its purpose was the training of German speaking teachers for the German-language schools in America. Always short of funds and never in a position to flourish, the German Teachers' School did manage to stay afloat until 1919.

During the latter half of the 19th century, German-language schools for a time became so accepted and commonplace that public school boards in many cities not only supported them but actually designated certain buildings within a city system as the German-language schools. In Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Maryland, Michigan, and elsewhere, there were enough German voters to compel state legislators to pass laws authorizing the teaching of regular academic subjects using the vehicle of the German language. This cultivation of the German language was looked upon with misgivings by some government leaders. They worried about the kind of linguistic miscegenation that might occur. Benjamin Franklin wrote with concern about the situation in Pennsylvania:

> They begin of late to make all their bonds and other legal instruments in their own language (though I think it ought not to be), are allowed good in courts, where the German business so increases, that there is continued need of interpreters, and I suppose in a few years, they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one-half of our legislators, what the other half says.[1]

Such fears proved unfounded, in part, because the German immigrants at that time were religious separatists, disinterested in aggrandizing political power and set on following the "simple life."

Late in the 19th century states began passing new laws restricting and occasionally outlawing the use of a foreign language in the public schools, such as the Bennett Law in Wisconsin and the Edwards Law in Illinois in 1890. In Wisconsin, the Bennett Law initially was opposed, then overridden in a state election, but in state after state laws authorizing the use of German for regular instruction gradually were repealed. In a few states like Nebraska, they remained in force until America became involved in World War I, but even then the right to use a foreign language finally was not revoked until 1919. The law forbidding the use of any foreign language for instruction or otherwise was appealed all the way to the U.S. Supreme Court that ruled in 1923 that indeed the parents of children do have the right to permit their children to be taught in a language other than English. This liberty, the court ruled, was guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment.

Gradually, though, the process of assimilation did what laws could not do. The German language disappeared as a medium of instruction and then even as a subject worthy of learning for many years following World Wars I and II. Only a few religious sects such as the Amish and the Huttites any longer offer bilingual education in which one of the languages of instruction is German. Bilingual education in 1975 does not mean German language education as it did until World War I, but Spanish language education.

The German-American Alliance

It was during World War I that the German element in America essentially was forced out of existence, but it had lost ground well before 1917. In 1916 the German American Alliance, an organization created in 1901 by representatives of all the existing German societies in America for the purpose of preserving German identity boasted a membership in excess of 3 million. In spite of this triumph of numbers, the alliance expended most of its energy on fighting prohibition. On other issues affecting the Germans in America, the alliance did not really offer viable programs. After the American entry into World War I, the alliance itself went into a tailspin and died gracefully in 1918.

After the close of World War I, the Germans in America were never again a strong force. Certain groups lingered on for decades without becoming fully assimilated but the vast majority became submerged. Perhaps nowhere and at no time in history has such a large ethnic bloc been so easily and so quickly assimilated.

The Russian-German Element in America

One wing of the German element in the United States that has not disappeared fully is the Russian-German element. These ethnic Germans from Russia live in large numbers in North and South Dakota, Nebraska, Kansas, and California. Their forefathers emigrated from Germany to Russia during the reigns of Catherine the Great and Alexander I between 1774 and 1830 and reemigrated after 1874 from Russia to the United

States. In 1974 the U.S. Post Office issued a commemorative stamp in the "Rural America Series," which honors the Mennonite Russian-Germans who brought Turkey red hard wheat from the Russian steppes to Kansas. Conditioned to living in closed colonies in Russia, they were somewhat slower in being assimilated into American society.

Conclusion

While the Germans have not been very visible since World War I, it appears from recent studies that in the privacy of the ballot boxes they switched their allegiance away from Franklin Roosevelt when the president ventured on an anti-German foreign policy after 1936. Most German sections of the United States gave decidedly fewer votes to Roosevelt in 1940 than they did in 1936. Similar studies show that the Germans flocked back to the Democratic Party in 1948 to deliver President Harry Truman his surprising upset victory. But indications are that the German counties of the nation were not particularly supportive of Dwight Eisenhower in spite of the fact that he was the first American of German descent to be elected to the White House. Nor did they give extraordinary support to Lyndon Johnson whose ancestry included Germans from the New Braunfels area of Texas.

In conclusion it must be said that since 1820 the German element in the United States has made many valuable contributions to American history. Today, however, that element, although still relatively large numerically, must be considered part of the vast Anglo-Teutonic white stock that comprises the silent majority of modern American society.

Note

1. Quoted in William Beidelman, *The Story of the Pennsylvania Germans* (Easton, Pa.: Express Book Print, 1898), pp. 85-87.

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7

Newspapers and Magazines in the Second Language Classroom

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Today more and more language teachers are ordering magazines and newspapers for classrooms use. Commonly, however, these materials enter classrooms without teacher's guides, and the teacher often has little time to plan carefully for their use in instruction. Consequently, the approaches used to teach printed news media have changed very little. They resemble the following:

1. "Why don't you read a magazine, Tom, and stop bothering Michael?"
2. Why don't you, in the 20 minutes that remain, play one of the games, read one of the books back on the second shelf, or look at a magazine?"
3. "Don't go until the bell rings. Look at a magazine when you have finished your homework."

Used in that manner, magazines and newspapers can never become an *important* classroom activity. The goal of this paper is to show that they can.

Principal Functions of Printed News Media in Language Classroom

1. *Language practice*. They can provide source material for language practice in all four skills. As such, the language used is *real* language that has not been synthetically manufactured for a teaching unit. It communicates to the reader. The language is often very simple, using a minimum number of words, often within a limited vocabulary. Still, care must be exercised, as Grittner cautions, for journalistic jargon abounds in newspapers in any language![1] But even the jargon can be more enjoyable than a reader with a vocabulary list at the bottom of the page, if only because there is no compelling reason for the student to translate every word in a newspaper anyway. Moreover, the text often is accompanied by photographs and other illustrations that can give clues to the message. The newspaper or magazine can provide material for both intensive and extensive reading, be it supplementary or required. Newspaper and magazine copy can help teach students to use context clues, to make wide use of sensible guessing, and to look for structural and morphological clues to derive meaning. Such print sources usually make wide use of *franglais* and colloquial language so that using English cognates can become a logical means for deriving meaning.

Because of their temporary and contemporary nature, one is tempted to assume that journalistic sources of print material are somehow inferior to the "real" literature in its belletristic sense. Many teachers feel that, since one of education's aims is to uplift the tastes of students, such reading, if it is offered, should be limited to "good" magazines and newspapers. We often take it for granted that students are studying a foreign language because they want to read novels and essays. But reality may be far different. It may be true that students ultimately want to read magazines or newspapers, and not critically acclaimed literary works. It is thus not lowering the standards of instruction to suggest that students read magazines and newspapers as a legitimate part of their foreign language courses. This is not to say that literature and other good reading must be totally *replaced by* journalistic reading in every class at every level. Far from it. But it *is* to make a plea for giving students at least *some* experience with a literature that reflects the present day language and daily concerns of the target culture.

2. *Motivation*. In addition to providing ample resources for language practice, the printed news media also make available countless opportunities for student motivation.

First, it may be strongly motivating for the student to be able to look at a printed page intended for native speakers of another language and to grasp directly the significance of what he is reading. If he can get any message at all from the printed page, the motivation is direct and immediate. For example, a first-year class, studying dates and days of the week, usually will make oral use of this new vocabulary to start the day, to change a calendar, to make a calendar, etc. Nevertheless, they will always feel that the language they are working with has been somehow "put together" for them alone, unconnected to a living culture. Thus there is special joy in being able to look at a foreign language newspaper and pick out the date and day not once but several times, in several parts of the paper. The language lives! And the reward is immediate and inspiring. Similarly, even rank beginners can reap significant motivational rewards from "reading" news articles, headlines, and picture captions that are heavily larded with English cognates. The joy is doubled by the fact that the student's understanding is not of material from a "canned" reader, but from real sources which the Frenchman, German, or Spaniard is having to look at in the same way.

Second, motivation can come from the subject matter of the magazine (especially) or the newspaper. I am thus suggesting that the classroom *not* rely solely on a subscription to *Réalités* or *L'Express* in order to provide reading materials. Those magazines are *very* expensive and intrinsically not terribly interesting to an adolescent. How many students, after all, read the *New Yorker* for fun? They're probably buried in *Mad*, or *New Ingénue*, or *Seventeen*, or even *Fave* or *Tiger Beat*, which they may laugh at, but still read faithfully.

Likewise, *Le Monde* would not be appealing for the junior or senior high student. *Le Figaro* is more likely, regardless of the teacher's own political inclinations or taste. I would suggest that, for sheer motivating power with young students, French teachers subscribe to a French-Canadian newspaper, maybe a tabloid like *Montréal-Matin*, for one month. This usually will bring daily newspapers into your classroom for more than 30 days since subscription departments often have slow canceling procedures. You will have a stack of 30 to 45 daily papers that include the following features: American comic strips translated into French, as well as French-Canadian comic strips; movie ads galore (some for American films in French and some for original Canadian or French films); restaurant and theatre ads; concert announcements; ads for products using Canadian dollars; familiar sports such as baseball, football and hockey–all have immediate appeal. Even though such a newspaper is not telling the student very much about *French* culture, it is tremendously motivating, and can provide interesting information about *one* country where French is spoken. There are want ads for jobs, and ads for housing, garage sales–you name the topic covered in your basic text, and you'll find supplementary reading material in your newspaper to go along with it. In recommending French Canadian newspapers, I am not suggesting that we forget French ones, but rather that we not ignore the wealth of easily accessible, inexpensive, and timely material that exists across our own border.

Third, motivation can come from the possibility of getting some real insights into the target culture that have not come from a book. The learning is immediate and tangible, and the culture is as varied as the people at whom such publications are aimed. The culture may be that of the rock group idolized in *Hit*, that of the young married woman who reads *Marie-Claire*, that of the hobbyist who reads *Systeme D*, that of the gardener, the knitter, the motorbike crowd–in short, a culture that is varied and *human*. The French are seen no longer as people who lead stuffy lives at home where Father's will is always done, and whose yearly vacation takes them visiting monuments (a view often given by reading selections in readers and basic texts). Rather, they are seen as real people doing real things, having real problems and relationships: trying to decorate their homes, keeping warm, getting along with the opposite sex, going to sports events, cooking a good dinner at rising prices, following a singing star's career, looking for a part-time job, or even trying to cope with inflation.

In short, the motivational aspects of journalistic sources should be exploited to their fullest in classes at every level, not just when students are "advanced enough to be able to read freely." Students at any level can read a great deal when the assigned material presents them with something real.

3. *Culture*. A third important function of the printed news media has already been mentioned: the possibility that the newspaper and magazine can add authentic cultural content to language classes at all levels. I would like to suggest a *process* for looking at another culture, that is being exploited in a series of mini-units, published by National Textbook Company, in which newspapers and magazines are used as primary sources for information about another culture, along with books, television and radio, and people from the culture.[2] Students are led first to want to look at the print source by means of motivating statements and questions about the culture. The second step gets the students to *read* or seek information in the print source by means of leading questions in English or in the target language. The third step asks students to try to formulate generalizations about the culture on the basis of the information gathered in the reading. Finally, the student is asked what further information he must have before he can say with any certainty that his generalization is valid, and he is led to identify other sources that might help him to refine his hypothesis. The process can be used by students and teachers at any level, and is fruitful whether done in English or in the target language. Its most important aspect is hypothesis refinement, which leads the students to question stereotypes and avoid hasty overgeneralizations. It is a process that is directly transferable by the student to everything else he reads about the target culture.

Problems Involved in Classroom Use of Magazines and Newspapers

There are two principal problems involved in using journalistic sources extensively in the classroom. One is the need to adjust the language level of the sources to the reading levels of the students. The second problem deals with the selection of appropriate goals and objectives for the use of journalistic materials.

1. *Language level.* From the outset, it should be clear that most people do not read magazines and newspapers from cover to cover in their own language. Therefore, it is unrealistic to expect or ask for such reading in another language. Consequently, the teacher can pick those parts of the newspaper or magazine that are suitable for her own students, or in some cases students will choose their own reading. Let us assume that

she has chosen to use an ad for cheeses from Switzerland for her first-year class. The ad is basically couched in simple language, but there are several difficult words, and some lines that would be pure gibberish to beginners. She has several choices. She could rewrite the advertisement to include only known vocabulary, but doing so would negate the motivational value of using *the real ad* as reading material. She could prepare the students for the reading by teaching the unknown words beforehand, or she could simply tell the students in English the gist of the most difficult lines so that students would not have to translate or worry unduly about them.

Another possibility would be to use a masking device to screen the essential words so that if the student read only the words highlighted in yellow, for example, he could get the entire sense of the ad without being forced to decipher the rest of the reading. This could be done simply with a felt-tip marker intended for highlighting and the ad could then be displayed on a bulletin board. Further, the important words could be lifted from the ad, typed using a primer typewriter, and mounted as part of the bulletin-board display. A similar process could be used if the ad were color-lifted and made into a transparency, or photographed and turned into a color slide. In this manner, the better students or a more advanced class could read the entire ad while beginners worked only with the preselected parts highlighted.

An article with unusually high motivational power might be used with classes at several levels in different ways. For example, a first-year class assigned to "read" a newspaper article about world hunger could answer multiple-choice questions in English by skimming and discovering answers through sensible guessing, using cognates and simple vocabulary for clues. They could focus mainly on the headlines and lead sentences in each paragraph. Knowing that newspaper style dictates the inclusion in the opening paragraph of most of the basic facts of the news item would help the student zero in on parts of the reading he could handle. The more advanced students, on the other hand, could read the entire article to answer other types of questions in the target language.

Beginners could be taught to skim-read by having a number of short lead paragraphs from news items reproduced for each student. The headlines from these stories are cut and placed in a box. As each is drawn and read, the students must find the lead paragraph on their sheet that matches the headline. The teacher also could cut and mount the answers written by a lovelorn columnist, with the questions being drawn from a box and read aloud. Students must find the appropriate answer to the question, providing listening practice as well as skim-reading practice. In a variation, for advanced students, both questions and answers could be put into separate boxes. A number of students take turns reading questions drawn from the question box, while other students draw an answer from the answer box and read it as though it were a response to the particular question just read. Since the questions and answers will rarely match, the exercise will lead to some comical situations and can be followed up by a similar activity with students writing questions and answers. Obviously, all four skills come into play.

Some articles in teen magazines are made to order for beginning classes. An excellent example is the often used feature in the French magazine, *Salut les copains*, which selects a musical star and arranges in simple language all the things that star likes and hates on facing pages, for example speaking of Adamo,

J'aime . . .	*Je déteste . . .*
(in French)	
. . baggy jeans	clean hair . .
. . blond girls	a sizzling steak . . etc.

Students can read the items easily, and make similar lists for themselves and their friends. In a guessing game, students might each compile lists of likes and dislikes. The lists are collected and mixed. Drawn from a box, the lists then are read aloud, while the reader tries to guess the identity of the student whose list he has read.

The same magazine includes several other features, such as an hour-by-hour daily schedule of a singer, which could be used even by the beginning class learning to tell time. Another feature picks a famous star and lists *tout dans la tête*, in which the star gives one or two-sentence opinions on a range of current issues, such as atomic bomb testing, the new president of France, new, unfaded jeans, etc.

2. *Selecting appropriate goals.* As concerns the problem of goal selection, the teacher must constantly ask what the student will *do* with the material. It would be clearly inappropriate to carry out some of the skim-reading activities mentioned if the goal were *intensive* reading. But

it could be an appropriate goal and activity for an advanced class being trained to do rapid, extensive reading in a number of sources, including literature.

In order to prepare students for both the linguistic and cultural goals of these activities, a logical first step is to lead the students to examine carefully the media in question. It is wise to take newspapers and magazines separately, since they are distinctly different.

(a) TEACHING STUDENTS TO READ A NEWSPAPER. To use a newspaper, students must first learn something about how a newspaper is put together. The following procedures will be most meaningful if they are performed first with an American newspaper and then with the foreign paper, or if the two are examined in parallel fashion. Students can find responses to a number of questions through inductive methods. For example, ask students to make a dummy front page indicating carefully the space accorded each article, the size of the headline, etc. After this is completed, ask students to decide which is the lead story on the front page, the most important. What means can they use to determine the most important? The length of the story? The use of pictures? Its placement on the page? Is it in the upper right? The upper left? The lower right? Is the placement of the most important story the same in American and target language newspaper? Is type size or headline style an indicator of the most important story? Is a single headline used, or are there a number of "trailer" headlines, each smaller than the preceding, summing up details of the story? Are multiple headlines used for all articles, or are they reserved for the most important stories?

Can students find publisher information? Where is the paper published? How can one subscribe? How much does a single issue cost? Is there an index to features and articles? Does it have separate sections for sports, for women's news, for advertisements? How are deaths reported? How about weddings and births? Are there special sections where one might find this type of information? Is there a weather report? Does it include a map? Where is the weather report? Does it appear in synopsis on the front page as in some American papers?

These questions just scratch the surface, but they should get the students thinking about the actual content and format of a newspaper.

Next, students even in the first year can learn that American journalistic style dictates that all important information be located in the opening paragraphs of a news story so that the article can be cut at any length to fit available space without affecting the content. Students can try to discover whether the who, what, where, when, why, and how questions all are answered in the opening paragraphs in the article they are examining from the second language newspaper. Advanced students can be asked to examine articles to determine whether *opinion* is acceptable in a *news* story. Those words that indicate opinion can be singled out and listed on the board as they are discovered. The same exercise on an American news story can be most instructive, and should lead to some interesting discussions about differences in journalistic style.

A further look at opinion in the newspaper leads to examination of editorial pages. Are political cartoons included? Are all editorials signed by authors or are there some without signatures? Does the lack of signature imply newspaper *publisher* opinion, as opposed to *individual* opinion? Most advanced classes could try to determine the political leanings of a number of newspapers by isolating opinions expressed, or comparing treatment of the same news story. Are there letters to the editor? Does the editor ever reply to the letters in the columns, or are they printed as received with no comment or editor's note?

(b) TEACHING STUDENTS TO READ A MAGAZINE. In the case of a magazine, students should examine the table of contents to determine the range of articles included and the general organization of the sections. They next can look through the articles and advertisements to see whether they can determine the magazine's intended audience. Can they determine a social class, income level, age or interest group implied by article or advertising content and appeal? Why is it important to know who the audience is? They should also separate the contents into *articles* and *features* and note any differences in scope, content, or treatment.

Where can they find publisher data? Where is the magazine published? How much does it cost? Is it available in only one country or elsewhere as well?

Working in English with an advertisement may help students answer some questions about the audience. They may be led to form a generalization about the culture of the country based on the advertisement. A case in point might be an ad for a laundry detergent. Based on ads in some magazines, one might conclude that all women in France do their laundry wearing elegant clothing and perpetual smiles. Ask students what further information they would need to know before they could say with any certainty that this generalization is true. Finally, where could they find further information to refine their hypothesis?

Activities Using Magazines and Newspapers

What follows is a brief compendium of additional activities which might be carried out using journalistic sources.

Want ads can provide a number of activities for students at any level. Students from the intermediate levels up could profitably engage in "expanding" want ads, as suggested by James and Lange[3], supplying complete sentences and whole words for the truncated, abbreviated want ad style. They could also try the reverse: students write a description of something they wish to buy or sell; they then exchange papers and write an ad containing no more that 15 words. Students at the most elementary level also can solve problems using want ads. For instance, given a page of ads, students must select a room or apartment to rent having certain characteristics. Samples:

(1) "You are a light sleeper. You have three children and want to live near a school. Which living quarters would you choose?"

(2) "You are a student who holds a night job in addition to carrying a full load of studies. You need absolute silence during the day to study or sleep. Which room would you choose?"

(3) "You have furniture of your own, but you don't have a stove or refrigerator. You love to golf, and your doctor has prescribed swimming daily. Which would you choose?"

The problems may be in the language or in English, depending on level. In each case, students can be asked to explain their choice.

Given a page of job openings and employment want ads, students can try to match unemployed persons with jobs announced. Or they can work in pairs, and interview each other for jobs advertised. They can, using a Tele-Trainer (available for use free from any telephone company), make telephone calls to inquire about jobs offered, houses advertised, etc.

Advanced students can compile a list of abbreviations used in want ads, with their expanded forms and explanations, for the use of less advanced students. Such listings of abbreviations are mostly nonexistent in dictionaries.

Each student can be given an imaginary sum of money, like 200 francs, which he must spend in a department store whose page of advertisements he is given. He is given certain problems he must solve with his money, however. For example, he must buy food for the week, a birthday gift for his mother, and a wedding present for his best friend. How will he spend his money? Groups of two to four students can all be given the same problem, and the group with the most ingenious list and the most money left over within a prescribed time limit wins. Other activities then can center around learning about and using the new monetary system in other ways.

Beginners can engage in a race using the index and other sections of a newspaper. The teacher says, for example: "Who can find the page on which TV listings are given?" granting a point for the first person to find it. Go on to movie ads, editorials, etc.

Horoscopes in both magazines and newspapers are always top drawing cards for high school students. Comparison of foreign and American horoscopes for the same day are instructive for advanced students.

Reading and writing letters to the editor are excellent activities for advanced students, as is advice to the lovelorn. Advanced students can write headlines for stories. The reverse of that activity finds the teacher reading a headline and asking students to write (create) a news story to accompany it.

Students can fill in coupons and send for things, especially free catalogues and the like.

Students at any level can get a view of attitudes toward the sexes in the target culture by tallying everything they see women and girls doing in a magazine, and then tallying activities of boys and men. They can identify who plays the leading roles in various types of activities. They also can tally the jobs listed in want ads for women and for men, indicate the nature of each and how accurately this picture reflects society. Teachers can ask students to clarify and expand their conclusions by examining magazines aimed at different audiences, by researching in books, or by talking to persons from that country.

Examination of cartoons and comics can give insight into another culture as well. Students rarely will find the target culture's humor very funny, at least at first. Discussions about puns and wordgames, point of view, or current events which might be represented or satirized in a cartoon, are instructive. A side note about comics may be in order, however. Sometimes teachers assume that they are easier to read than they really are! French teachers who have tried to use *Astérix* in any but very advanced classes, for example, are amazed by the quick frustration that develops, for such comics are even beyond the grasp of many Frenchmen. A solid base of French history, civilization, and culture is assumed and essential for understanding such material. Such works can be used with success and pleasure in very advanced classes, but they do require special techniques and activities. (See, for example, Montredon's excellent article[4], as well as that by Fresnault-Deruelle[5].)

Students can write plots for movies based on ads they read in newspapers. Beginning students could decide which movies or plays they would go to see (a) with their little sister, (b) with their boyfriend or girlfriend, (c) with a group of friends, (d) alone. Then they might choose a restaurant for each situation from those advertised.

Students at any level can create a radio news broadcast based on an issue of a newspaper, selecting human interest stories, the order in which stories are presented, etc. The broadcast can be taped and replayed for other classes as listening practice.

Students at any level can circle every cognate whose meaning they can guess in a given article, an ad, etc.

They can read sport pages and prepare score tables based on information they read. A list of upcoming events can be compiled as well.

Using a published weather report, students can plan a trip to the part of France where they will find sunny, warm weather. Based on weather information they glean from the report, they can plan what clothing to take on a two-day trip to a number of cities in different areas.

Advanced students can prepare word frequency lists from various types of articles. They can isolate and list words common only to crime stories, or wedding articles, funeral notices, political news, sports news, or accidents. They could focus on clue words frequently used in headlines for these types of articles.

Even beginning students can videotape "homemade" TV commercials based on printed ads for products found in an issue of a newspaper or magazine.

Advanced students can plan and tape-record an interview on which a given news story might have been based. For example, a news story about world hunger based on something said by the Secretary-General of the United Nations could lead to an interview of the Secretary-General by a reporter. Questions asked must reflect the information given in the article.

Newspapers and magazines probably will never replace textbooks and readers entirely—nor should they! Used with care, however, they can make a foreign language an exciting, *useful* tool for which students can find immediate use and from which they can derive instant and long-lasting rewards.

Notes

1. Frank M. Grittner, "The Teacher as Co-Learner," in *Student Motivation and the Foreign Language Teacher*, Selected Papers from the 1973 Central States Conference, edited by Frank M. Grittner, (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974), p. 27.
2. The first such book of duplicating masters was prepared by H. Ned Seelye and J. Lawrence Day, *The Newspaper: Spanish Mini-Culture Unit* (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974). Others dealing with French newspapers and magazines, Spanish magazines, and German newspapers and magazines, are in preparation.
3. Charles J. James and Dale L. Lange, *The Use of Newspapers and Magazines in the Foreign-Language Classroom* (New York: MLA/ERIC, 1974).
4. Jacques Montredon, "L'utilisation de dessins humoristiques en classe de langue," *Le Français dans le Monde* 87 (1972): 33-37.
5. Pierre Fresnault-Deruelle, "La Lange des bandes dessinées et leur contenu cultural," *Le Français dans le Monde* 98 (1973): 14-19.

8

Evaluating Cultural Learnings

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A surface examination of the professional literature during the past five years reveals that the foreign language teaching profession considers that body of knowledge called *culture* as an important part of the foreign language curriculum. Definitions, rationales, and methods for teaching culture in the foreign language classroom abound, but little has been written on testing this cultural learning.

Lado, Nostrand, Seelye, and Upshur have done excellent work in laying a theoretical foundation for the evaluation of cultural goals by delineating a set of objectives and by discussing the problems of constructing, administering, grading, and validating tests on cross-cultural knowledge and understanding.[1] However, judging from an informal survey of commercially available classroom tests, as well as teacher constructed tests, our cultural goals either are totally omitted in formal achievement testing, or they are tested haphazardly by items calling for the height of the Eiffel Tower, the dollar value of the peso, or the principal geographic features of Germany.

Rationale for Testing Culture

The need for including cross-cultural understanding in our testing program is obvious. If, as we claim, cross-cultural learning is a foreign language course objective, then cultural as well as linguistic knowledge must be evaluated to maintain the face validity of our programs. Further, we need to test cultural objectives to get feedback on the effectiveness of instruction. Stated more directly, we need to know whether our methods, materials, and activities are successful in establishing the knowledge, understanding, and skills we have set out to teach. Directly tied to the effectiveness of instruction, there is the need to evaluate student learning. Has the student attained the desired cultural "proficiency," or does he need additional time, practice, or materials?

An additional, but certainly no less important reason for testing cultural learning is to motivate student interest and study. Experience tells us that students do study for tests, and that those aspects of a course which are tested are usually considered important. In Chastain's words:

> . . . The teacher cannot expect his students to take seriously any goal which is not tested. Their [the students'] whole educational background has conditioned them to study for examinations as covering the important objectives of the course.[2]

In spite of this convincing rationale for testing culture, teacher reluctance to include cultural items on achievement tests continues. This probably is due to the difficulty in delineating what the student is expected to be able to *do* with culture. Obviously, before we can discuss the testing of anything, we need first to identify specific purposes and goals.

Cultural Goals and Purposes

There exist today at least two well thought-out sets of goals of cultural instruction. The first was stated by the Nostrands in 1970, and those same goals later were interpreted and modified by Seelye in a useful and resourceful publication entitled *Teaching Culture: Strategies for Foreign Language Educators.*[3]

The Nostrands listed nine "specific objectives" or "kinds of understandings to be tested" in order of apparent difficulty. They are reprinted here in abbreviated form:

1. The ability to react appropriately in a social situation
2. The ability to describe, or to ascribe to the proper part of the population a pattern in the culture or social behavior
3. The ability to recognize a pattern when it is illustrated
4. The ability to "explain" a pattern
5. The ability to predict how a pattern is likely to apply in a given situation
6. The ability to describe or manifest an attitude important for making one acceptable in the foreign society
7. The ability to evaluate the form of a statement concerning a culture pattern
8. The ability to describe or demonstrate defensible methods of analyzing a sociocultural whole
9. The ability to identify basic human purposes that make significant the understanding which is being taught[4].

In modifying the Nostrand goals, Seelye reduces them to seven in number. At least four are very similar to the Nostrands', two others merge some of the above, and only one (#4) seems not to be specifically covered in the Nostrands' set. Seelye claims that, if classroom cultural activities are to be purposeful, they should in some way relate to one of the seven goals. Like the Nostrands, he sees little value in mere factual learnings. The seven goals fully described and discussed in Seelye's third chapter are:

1. The sense, or functionality, of culturally conditioned behavior
2. The interaction of language and social variables
3. Conventional behavior in common situations
4. Cultural connotations of words and phrases
5. Evaluating statements about a society
6. Researching another culture
7. Attitudes toward other cultures[5].

Few people will question the need, usefulness, and validity of both sets of goals; what teachers should question, however, is the appropriateness of each goal to the foreign language curriculum and the students involved. For instance, to develop the ability to ascribe to the proper part of the population a pattern in the culture, or the ability to evaluate statements about a society–without resorting to recall of cognitive knowledge previously acquired in the classroom–appears somewhat unrealistic. To acquire these abilities, the student would need direct contact with the target culture, as well as intellectual maturity and critical research methods.

Methods of Acquiring Cultural Knowledge and Skills

It might be worthwhile to summarize available approaches for the teaching of or about cultural patterns. As perceived by the authors, there are three basic methods for acquiring cultural knowledge and skills:

1. Total uncritical immersion into a culture, defined as cultural conditioning. The "student" learns by imitation and stimulus-response techniques, such as a child becomes acculturated into his own society.
2. Critical and analytical observation of recurring incidents which demonstrate a similar pattern of cultural behavior. This method is used by anthropologists and social scientists, and according to Mead should ideally be applied while totally immersed in the culture.[6]
3. Guided observation of selected patterns in isolation followed by explanation and interpretation of the pattern with the help of a knowledgeable resource person.

Obviously, the first method described is unfeasible and undesirable in the foreign language classroom. The second does have some applicability to cross-cultural learning as adapted by Jenks, Seelye, and Schulz.[7] However, by Jenks's own admission, "the term, research, is moderately abused," as it is limited to printed cultural documents, reference materials, or contact with opinions of a very small number of individuals familiar with the target culture.[8]

The great majority of adolescent learners must depend on the third method described: A cultural pattern is illustrated in an artifact, dialogue, reading passage, culture capsule, minidrama, film, photograph, song, newspaper advertisement, etc. Since the students usually are exposed only to "sample" cultural incidents, we cannot ask them to generalize on their own a pattern from single observations. The observations therefore must be followed by teacher guided explanations and generalizations, lest we tempt the students to overgeneralize from insufficient data, or attribute the observed difference to idiosyncratic exceptions.

If we believe in testing what we teach, the above considerations are important, because they limit the tasks we can realistically ask the students to perform on a test.

We emphasize that we wish to deal in this paper with practical considerations of classroom achievement testing and will limit our discussion to measuring learning *outcomes* rather than learning processes or skills. We do *not* suggest limiting teaching approaches or depriving students of exposure to research techniques or other exercises which might lead to cultural learnings.

Realistic Goals to Be Tested

Let us now focus on what we consider to be realistic and testable culture goals in a secondary foreign language program. For purposes of clarification, we will use Lado's 1961 definition of cross-cultural understanding:

> Cross-cultural understanding is the knowledge of what people of a culture do and what it means. . . . Cross-cultural understanding does not mean a guarantee that the individual of another culture will like or dislike that way of doing things or that he will or will not do things that way himself if permitted.[9]

Partially for the sake of simplicity, but most important for the sake of reality, we suggest that there are probably only three culturally oriented goals which can be tested in most of today's secondary school foreign language programs. These are:

1. *Knowledge*. The ability to *recognize* cultural information or pattern. This goal focuses on factual information about selected patterns of the target culture, the student's ability to recall, recognize, and describe cultural information.
2. *Understanding*. The ability to *explain* cultural information or pattern. The student needs to comprehend a cultural pattern in terms of its meaning, origin, and interrelationships within the larger cultural context. This goal presupposes not only factual

knowledge, but also implies reasoning ability. Students should see the "logic" of a pattern in its own cultural context.

3. *Behavior*. The ability to *use* cultural information or pattern. This objective refers to behavioral skills, such as the ability to act meaningfully, unobtrusively, and unoffensively in real or simulated cultural situations.

We have purposely made use of the term cultural information because we believe that factual knowledge is necessary not only for these goals, but for the Nostrand and Seelye ones as well. All three objectives are basically cognitive objectives, only differing in the type of knowledge they require. We have intentionally omitted attitudinal objectives, as we are not convinced that it is the function of the classroom teacher to manipulate attitudes directly and systematically toward a specific culture.

Active and Passive Cultural Knowledge

The culture learned via the above goals might be identified as *active* or *passive* cultural knowledge, similar to the division made in vocabulary teaching. The two categories might be defined as:

(a) *Active cultural knowledge*, knowledge a student needs or may potentially need in a real cultural context. (The student recognizes and understands a pattern and is able to behave appropriately in a given situation.)

(b) *Passive cultural knowledge*, knowledge a student uses to better understand a foreign culture, but which he does not need to actually function in that culture. (The student is able to recognize or describe a pattern and understands it in terms of the total target culture.)

Passive knowledge implies teaching goals one and two (knowledge and understanding). Active knowledge, in our opinion, implies the teaching of all three goals, even though it would be possible to acquire it without focusing on understanding.

To illustrate the division made above, we have taken topics discussed in *Cultural Understanding: French, Level I*[10] and classified them as active or passive cultural knowledge. The concepts in Column I would involve active knowledge, while those in Column II could be treated as passive cultural knowledge only, since very few American students would ever have a chance to actively participate in such related situations.

Column I Active

Tu and *vous*
Titles of address and respect
Social amenities
French time
Eating hours
Restaurants
Money
Weights and measures
Shopping
Business hours and customs
Using the telephone
Transportation

Column II Passive

Homes
Family
Schools
Sports
Vacations
Symbols of French life
Colors
Les fêtes et les anniversaires
Art and music
Religion
Provinces et Départements
Government and politics
The French village
Geography

The decision to emphasize active or passive cultural knowledge would depend on the priorities placed on the three basic goals mentioned beforehand, as well as the culture topic under consideration. In addition, each category also would suggest the type of test needed, such as pencil-paper tests (multiple-choice, listings, descriptions, discussions, comparisons, etc.) for tests of passive knowledge, and direct observation in real or simulated situations to test active cultural knowledge.

Sample Items

The remainder of this paper will give some practical examples of test items. The first three cultural topics presented are based on culture "content" we have isolated in Chapter Five of *A-LM French, Level One.*[11] It goes without saying that the knowledge we propose for testing first would need to be taught, as the topics are only touched upon incidentally in the text and no explanations, generalizations, or cultural immersion activities are given. But, if the teacher actively makes use of the culture potential in this chapter, the following items should give some ideas for testing the three given culture objectives. We will suggest multiple choice items as well as free response items. For the latter we will propose possible criteria for evaluation.

Topic I: Leisure time activities for young people. (Text: Dialogue of Chapter Five deals with going to the movies; supplementary exercises use vocabulary for theater, concert, jazz, classical music, surprise party, museum, swimming pool, stadium, zoo, various sporting matches, date, TV, radio, walking.)

General objective: Students should be able to list and describe popular leisure time activities for young people and explain obvious differences between U.S. and French leisure preferences.

1. (Understanding) Which of the leisure time activities listed below would the "average" French teenager engage in *less* frequently than his American counterpart?
   (a) Walking around town or in parks.
   x (b) Driving around town or around the countryside.
   (c) Watching TV or listening to the radio.
   (d) Going to a café or to a movie theater.
2. (Understanding) Give two plausible reasons for the answer you chose above. (*Note:* This item is not an independent test item, as it is based on having the correct answer on item #1. The students could check their answer to item #1 with the teacher before going on.)
   Evaluation: Regardless of length or form of student response count only relevant information points given, for example, minimum age for driver's license is 18; exorbitant cost of cars, gasoline, maintenance of cars, etc.
3. (Knowledge) To behave according to French "tradition" when going to the movies you should remember to __________________.
   (a) make ticket reservations by telephone.
   (b) bring your own refreshments because no refreshments are sold at the movie theater.
   x (c) tip the usheress who takes you to your seat.
   (d) always arrive early because Frenchmen are fanatic movie fans and you might not get a seat.
4. (Understanding) A popular leisure time activity for Frenchmen of all ages is walking (*faire des promenades*). Describe two features of French cities or towns which encourage this "sport."
   Evaluation: Accept any two plausible answers, such as:
   distances are less; availability of many public parks and gardens; developed pathways along rivers, through fields and woods; interesting places to walk to, for example, cafés, châteaux, public monuments, etc.; well-decorated display windows in town; etc.
5. (Knowledge) Which is the number 1 spectator sport in France?
   (a) le basketball
   x (b) le football
   (c) le rugby
   (d) le cyclisme
6. (Knowledge) Excerpt for professional teams most spectator sports are sponsored by __________________.

(a) the *lycées.*
(b) the universities
(c) governmental agencies (Ministry of Health and Education)
x (d) private sporting clubs

Topic II: Transportation. (Text: Dialogue mentions travel by scooter and by bus; supplementary exercises give vocabulary for car, *Métro*, airplane, train, boat; color photograph or map of *Métro*; color photograph of two young people on scooter.)

General objective: Students should be able to list and describe means of private and public transportation, arrange them in order of popularity, availability, cost, and use (by whom and for what purpose), and explain differences in U.S. and French practices.

(Understanding) For "medium length" out-of-town trips, many Americans probably would choose their means of transportation in the order given below. Rearrange the four transportation means in the order of popularity in France.

U.S.:	*France*:
1. private car	1. ________
2. plane	2. ________
3. bus	3. ________
4. train	4. ________

Evaluation: 1. private car; 2. train; 3. bus; 4. airplane

2. (Knowledge) Many U.S. high school students aspire to owning their own cars. What type of vehicle would the *lycée* student want to own?

____

Evaluation: a scooter or a *motocyclette* (*mobilette*).

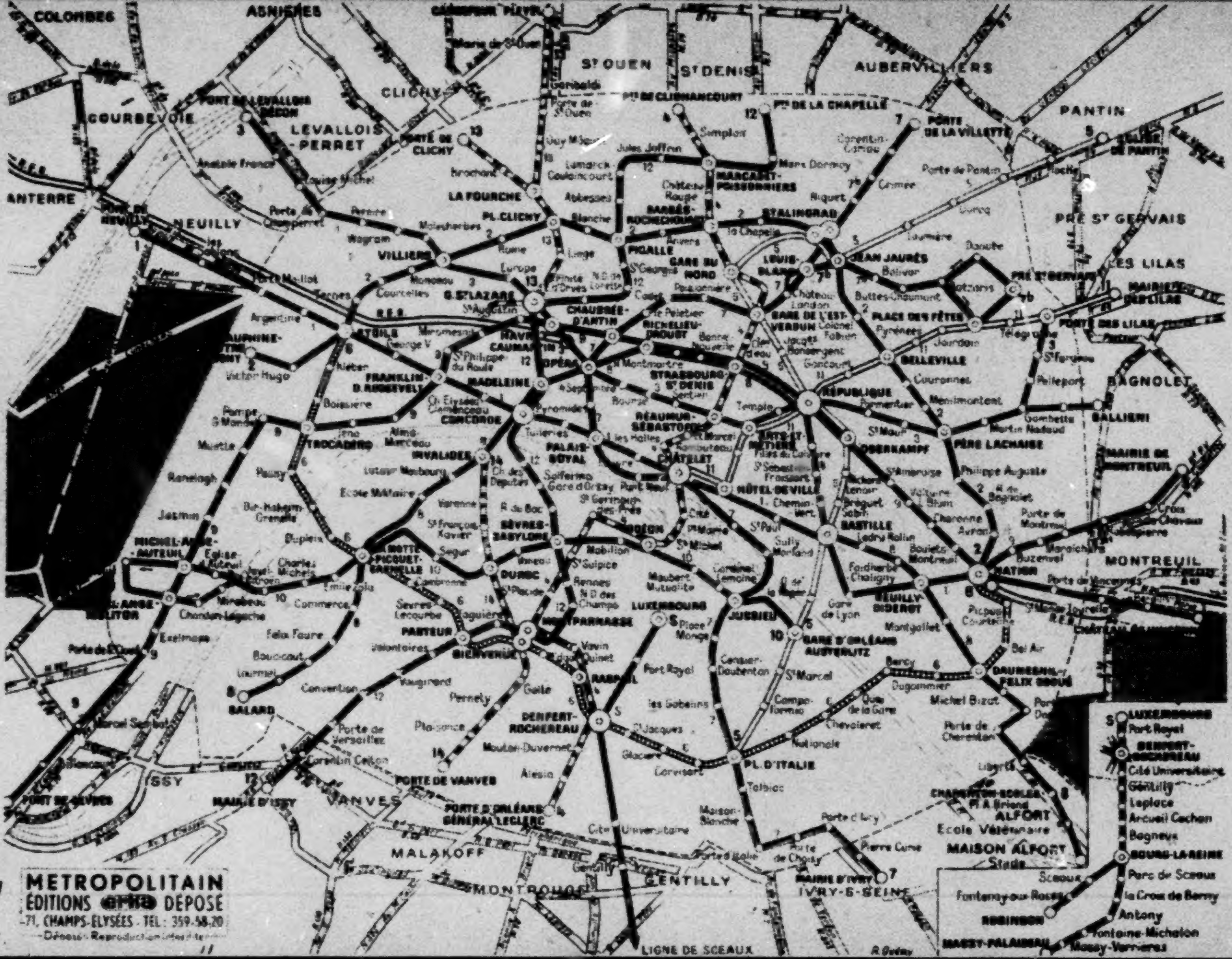
3. (Understanding) When people (Americans or Frenchmen) buy cars they look at such things as size, comfort, quality of construction, economy, brandname. What quality probably would have priority for the "average" middle-class Frenchman?

x (a) economy
(b) comfort
(c) size
(d) brandname

4. (Understanding) The quickest way to get from the Place de la Concorde to the *Quartier Latin* during rushhour is most probably by ________.

(a) taxi
(b) bus
x (c) métro
(d) walking

5. (Knowledge) You have just arrived by plane in Paris and you want to go to Orléans. How would you get there quickly and at the least expense? (Do not hitchhike. It is no safer than here!)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MICHEL-ANGE-AUTEUIL
MICHEL-ANGE-MOLITOR
MONTPARNASSE
PASTEUR
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LUXEMBOURG
JUSSIEU
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BALARD
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PORTE D'ORLÉANS GÉNÉRAL LECLERC
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Chevaleret
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Sully Morland
St Paul
Pont Marie
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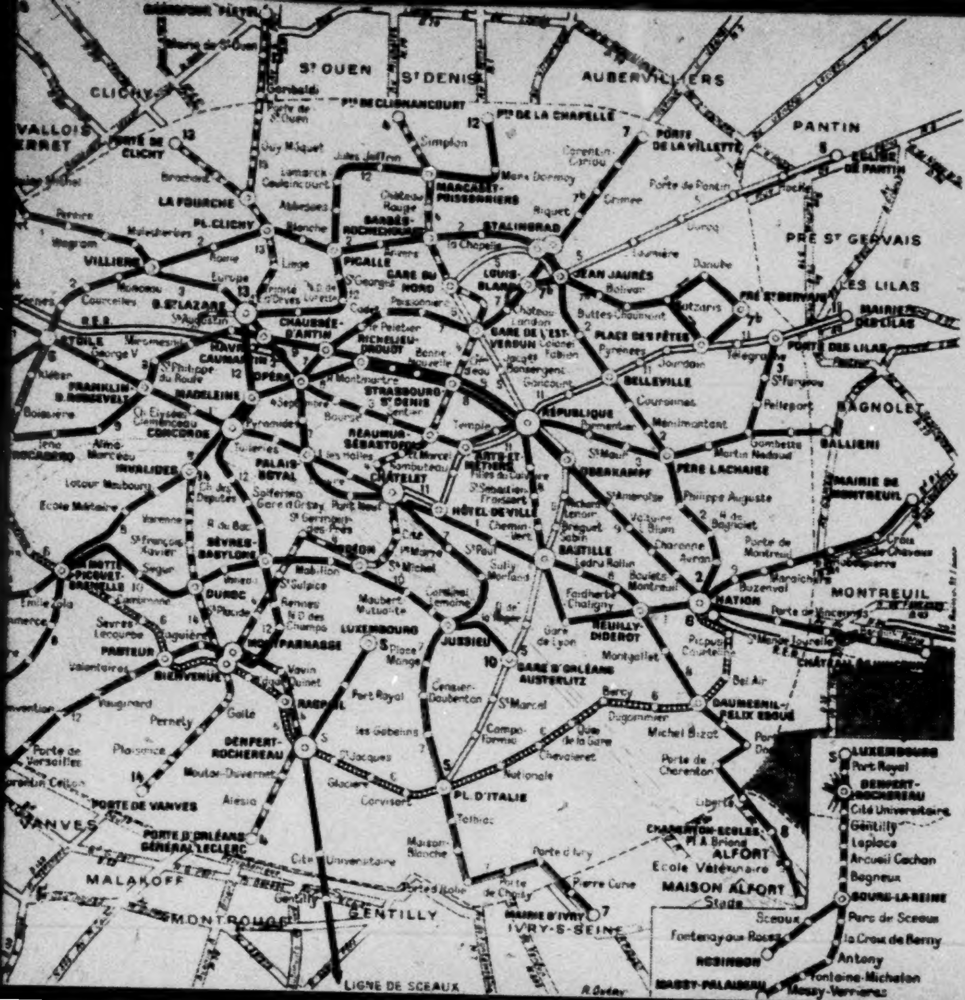
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x (a) by train
(b) by *Métro*
(c) by airplane
(d) by rented car

6. (Behavior) You want to do some "nightlifing" at Pigalle. You are at the *Métro* station *Luxembourg*. Using the map on page 113, describe the most direct route to your destination.
Take "Ligne ____________" to "station ____________."
Then take "ligne ____________" to "station ____________."
Then take "ligne ____________" to "station *Pigalle*."

Topic III: Housing (Text: Supplementary exercises give vocabulary for hotel, apartment house, house, dining room, living room, bathroom, entrance hall, bedroom.)

General objective: Students should be able to list and describe selected differences in housing patterns (types of housing, layout, construction, location) and explain these differences in terms of French living styles and attitudes.

1. (Knowledge) Which building material would you expect to be used *less* frequently on the outside structure of French houses than on American houses?
(a) stone
x (b) woodsiding
(c) stucco

2. (Knowledge) What is *not* a "typical" function of a *concierge*?
(a) She "guards" the building (that is, she watches over who comes and goes).
(b) She handles the mail for occupants.
x (c) She serves as switchboard operator for the apartment units.
(d) She keeps the common areas (for example, stairway, entry, yard) clean.

3. (Behavior) You are visiting a French family and desperately need to find the bathroom. Write down the question you will ask of your hostess to find the place.

____

Evaluation: Disregard errors in spelling or syntax. Only count the appropriate word for "restroom," for example, toilette, cabinet, W.C.

4. (Understanding) From what you know about the architectural layout of French houses or apartments, which statement would you consider most appropriate?
(a) Efficiency seems to be more important to the French than to Americans.
(b) Comfort seems to be more important to the French than to Americans.
x (c) Privacy seems to be more important to the French than to Americans.

5. **(Understanding)** Give two reasons to justify your opinion expressed in item #4.

   Evaluation: Even modest houses or apartments have a separate entrance hall; all rooms usually have doors; toilets and bathrooms at times separate; preferences for fenced yards, etc.

An explanatory comment is needed on the evaluation of open ended questions. The evaluation of such items is basically subjective. Whenever we ask for the "whys" of behavior we cannot expect the student to come up with an all inclusive resume, nor can we expect total agreement on cause and effect relationships of cultural patterns. The aim of testing this basic initial understanding is to reinforce the insight that there usually *are* some reasons for culture specific behaviors, and that each pattern makes sense in terms of the culture as a whole, past and present.

Testing the Behavior Objective

The next set of sample items is not related to a specific unit in a textbook. Rather, its purpose is to demonstrate one way to test the third objective we have entitled *behavior*, or the student's ability to *use* cultural information. Testing this objective requires active involvement on the part of the student. A situation must be created in which he needs to use the cultural information presented in the classroom. Various types of simulation can serve this purpose; some are as simple as greeting another person while others can be very complex involving several characters during an extended period of time. The latter tend to be almost impossible to grade, and we suggest that they be used as culminating experiences at the end of units instead of testing devices.

One somewhat uncomplicated way to test the behavior objective (active knowledge) is to record a series of open-ended situations the student listens to and reacts to on tape. No doubt the same material could be presented and answered in writing. The following examples are not necessarily meant to be grouped together. They cover a broad range of cultural topics each of which can be expanded to include additional items.

Directions to student: On tape you will hear a series of situations described in English. At some point in each situation you will be asked to make an appropriate comment in French. When you hear the beeping tone, you should press your record button and record your answer. Answer as quickly as possible since after about 20 seconds the master tape will go on to the next situation.

Example: It is Saturday afternoon and you are browsing in a bookstore. As you are about ready to leave, you meet your history teacher, Monsieur Jean-Claude Dupuis. He greets you and you respond . . . (beep)
EVALUATION: *Bonjour, Monsieur.*

1. You and a friend have just sat down at a sidewalk café. The *garçon* comes up to you and says: "*Vous désirez*?" You answer . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *un coca, une blonde, un café filtre*, etc. Accept any item that one might order in a café (usually a beverage).

2. You are about to leave for a weekend trip to the countryside. Beforehand, however, you want to fill up your gastank and check the oil. And so you drive to a local gas station, roll down your window and say . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *Bonjour, madame (monsieur). Faites le plein et vérifiez l'huile.* Accept any phrases that will convey the desired request.

3. You need approximately one quart of milk and one pound of Gruyère cheese. Therefore you go to the local *crèmerie* and ask for . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *Bonjour, madame, Je voudrais un litre de lait et un demi-kilo de gruyère.* (Be careful of measures used.)

4. You are supposed to meet a couple of French girls at a café and then go to a party. After quite a long wait, one of the girls, Annette Dupont, still has not shown up. You begin to worry about her and decide to give her parents a call. You go across the street to the post office, make the call, and when someone answers you say . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *Allô, ici* ______________________________. *Pourrais-je parler à Madame Dupont*? (Important to look for self-identification.)

5. After a good night's sleep in your hotel room, you come down to the hotel's restaurant the next morning and order a typical *petit déjeuner.* In doing so you would say . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *un café au lait et des croissants (des tartines, du pain, des brioches), s'il vous plaît.*

6. You have gone to a discothèque with a group of friends. While dancing, your partner compliments you on something you are wearing by saying: "*Votre robe (chemise, cravate, etc.) est très jolie.*" You answer . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *Je l'ai achetée à très bon marché. (C'est ma mère qui l'a choisie; Je la porte depuis trois ans.)* Accept answers that try to diminish the compliment. Do not accept "*merci.*"

7. In getting on a *Métro* train in Paris, you accidentally step on someone's foot. You should say . . . (beep)
   EVALUATION: *Pardon! Excusez-moi!*

Use of the Target Language

As concerns the use of the target language in testing culture, we believe that, whenever feasible (that is, whenever the required vocabulary and structures are within the range of acquired language proficiency of all students), the test items should make use of the target language. However, if there is a doubt in the teacher's mind whether a particular student can comprehend or respond in the foreign language, the cultural knowledge should be tested in English (unless, of course, the language example itself illustrates a cultural difference). Acquiring knowledge and understanding of another culture is a valid and important goal in itself. Let us not discourage or frustrate this objective by making it totally dependent on mastery of the target language. In this way, those students intrinsically interested in other peoples and cultures, but unable (or unwilling) to become proficient in a foreign language, will be given some chances of success and some encouragement for learning.

Conclusion

Any teacher who professes cultural goals and who includes systematic instruction about the culture can construct, administer, and evaluate such items as we have suggested in a conventional classroom setting. In large school systems, a practical, time and energy saving approach to the development of culture test items could be to divide the chapters in the textbook among the teachers using a particular book. Each teacher then would be responsible for isolating possible culture topics that would lend themselves to presentation with a particular lesson, and to develop possible items to test the three culture goals we have suggested. This procedure would provide a quick culture test bank for a school system. Better yet, could we interest our professional organizations, local, state or national, to coordinate the establishment of a culture test bank? Teachers then could submit usable items to this test bank and in turn obtain items developed by other teachers on specific topics and testing specific objectives. In discovering what to test and how to test it, teachers will not only build better instruments to evaluate cultural learnings, but also increase their own insights in the culture itself and its value to students.

Notes

1. Robert Lado, *Language Testing* (London: Longmans, 1961); Frances B. Nostrand and Howard Lee Nostrand. "Testing Understanding of the Foreign Culture," in *Perspectives for Teachers of Latin American Culture* edited by H. Ned Seelye (Springfield, Ill.: Office of Public Instruction, 1970); H. Ned Seelye, *Teaching Culture: Strategies for Foreign Language Educators* (Skokie, Ill.: National Textbook Co., 1974); J. A. Upshur, "Cross-Cultural Testing: What to Test," *Language Learning* 16 (1966): 183-96.
2. Kenneth Chastain, *The Development of Modern Language Skills: Theory to Practice* (Philadelphia: The Center for Curriculum Development, Inc., 1971), p. 350.
3. See Seelye, note 1.
4. Nostrand, "Testing Understanding of the Foreign Culture," pp. 123-27.
5. Seelye, *Teaching Culture*, pp. 38-48.
6. Margaret Mead, "How Anthropology Can Become a Component in a Liberal Arts Education," in *Essays on the Teaching of Culture* edited by Howard B. Altman and Victor E. Hanzeli, (Detroit: Advancement Press of America, Inc., 1974), pp. 1-19.
7. Frederick L. Jenks, "Conducting Socio-Cultural Research in the Foreign Language Class," in *Essays on the Teaching of Culture*, pp. 95-123; Seelye, *Teaching Culture*; and Renate A. Schulz, "Comparative Culture Study: An Approach Through the Printed News Media," *American Foreign Language Teacher*, 4 (Summer 1974): 11-13, 33-35.
8. Jenks, "Conducting Social-Cultural Research," p. 96.
9. Lado, *Language Testing*, p. 284.
10. *Cultural Understanding: French Level One* (Hayward, Calif.: Alameda County School Department, 1971).
11. *A-LM French, Level One*, Second Edition (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1969).

9

Sexism in French Language Textbooks

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Sexism is the attitude that treats men and women primarily as members of opposite sexes rather than as people, emphasizes their gender differences rather than their common humanity, and assigns roles, attitudes, and behavior patterns according to these presumed or real differences. Sexism in textbooks is characterized by rigid stereotyping of roles, attitudes, and behavior according to sex. More blatantly, sexism takes the form of degrading or condescending statements and generalizations about the female sex—"She's just like a girl. She gives up!" "Women are always late."

Although this paper addresses itself primarily to the problem of the negative image of women in French language textbooks, it is important to realize that sexism does violence to all, men as well as women, boys as well as girls. Boys who want to paint, knit, cook, dance, or study French, are called "sissies," just as girls are called "tomboys" or "unladylike" if they wear jeans, climb trees, play football, or aspire to be mechanics or long-distance runners. Men are told not to be weak, women not to be strong. The same society that makes women sex objects makes men success objects. So, although the examples in this paper represent sexism as it affects women, the final plea for revision is made for the benefit of both sexes—we all must be freed from limiting stereotypes.

Sexism in Children's Books

In recent years psychologists, educators, and women's groups have begun to expose the nature and extent of sex-role stereotyping in our schools' books and in children's books. The results are shocking. A 1971 study of the state-adopted readers of California (grades 2-6) showed that 75 percent of the main characters were male and that less than 20 percent of the story space was devoted to females.[1] The Women on Words and Images studied 2,760 children's stories and found that boy-centered stories outnumbered girl-centered stories by a ratio of 5:2, adult male to adult female 3:1. This study also showed 147 occupations for men and only 25 for women.[2] A 1971-72 study of the primary social studies textbooks used in Washington, D.C., portrayed 83 percent of the occupations as held by men. In prestige positions there were 72 men and only one woman.[3] These and other studies also show the behavior of males and females as very stereotypical. Little girls play with dolls, keep house, jump rope, and are afraid. Little boys fix things, play games, have exciting adventures, and help little girls. Older girls talk on the phone, plan parties, and worry about their looks. Older boys solve mysteries, win athletic contests, plot trips, adventures, and their futures. Women are mothers, and they cook and shop. Men hold important jobs, make vital decisions, and come home from work to solve the problems of the family.

It is fitting that the work of exposing sexism in books should have begun with children's books and basal readers, since these books exert a powerful but limiting influence on the development of sex roles during the formative years. It is no surprise that children at a very early age know what they can or cannot do because of their sex. But we also must examine and evaluate our upper level books, especially the high school and college texts, to insure that we are not brainwashing our young adults during a critical period of their lives, a time when they are planning their futures.

Guidelines for Detecting Sexism

Are our commonly used French language textbooks guilty of perpetrating a negative image of women? The following four categories serve as guidelines for detecting sexism in French language textbooks: exclusion, subordination, distortion, and degradation.

I. *Exclusion.* The category of exclusion refers to the proportion of contents devoted to males and females. Are females included as often as males in the main sections of the book (dialogue, readings), in secondary or recombination materials, in examples, in exercises, and in illustrations? Does the pronoun *elle* occur as often as *il*? The following chart gives a sampling of the occurrence of women in the main sections of six commonly-used French textbooks. The column labeled "Speakers" shows the number of male and the number of female speakers, both main and secondary characters. The column labeled "Omission" represents a count of the number of main dialogues or narratives which have *no* speaker of that sex.

Basic Dialogues and Narratives

Textbook	*No. of Dialogues*	*Speakers*		*Omission*	
		Male	*Female*	*Male*	*Female*
Ecouter et Parler (Revised ed.)	54	67	48	13	20
ALM-Level I (2nd ed.)	26	42	11	0	16
ALM-Level II (2nd ed.) (Units 16-26)	20	30	7	1	14
Son et Sens	20	15	29	9	3
Harris & Lévêque (5th ed.)	41	69	22	1	20
A la Française	40	54	43	3	6

Looking at the Harris & Lévêque text for an example, there are 69 male speakers to 22 female speakers, or a ratio of about 3:1. An even more significant statistic is that 20 out of 41, or *half* of the dialogues have *no* female speaker at all, while there is only one dialogue without a male speaker (Marie buys a scarf). Examination of other parts of the same textbooks reveals the same pattern of exclusion of women. The ALM-Level I recombination dialogues (Units 2-15) have 69 male speakers and 27 female speakers. Out of 47 dialogues, 23 have no females, only three have no males. The illustrations in the same group of texts have an average percentage of 33 percent male central figures and 15 percent female central figures.

II. *Subordination.* The category of subordination refers to the roles or occupations women have in the textbooks. Are women, when present, limited to subordinate roles (nurse, stewardess, secretary)? Are women shown as often as men as *main* characters? Are women portrayed in prestigious jobs, in positions of leadership? Are women seen outside the domestic setting?

The list of professions held by men and women made from the main dialogue and readings, the illustrations, and the grammar or vocabulary lesson on professions should be analyzed both by numbers and content. Harris & Lévêque give the following occupations for main and minor characters:

Main Characters

Jean: chemical engineer
Roger: chemist
Marie: (Roger's fiancée)
Hélène: (Jean's friend)

Minor Characters–Female

concierge
newspaper seller
salesclerk
manager of café

Minor Characters–Male

train employee
policeman
hotel manager
civil servant
waiter
electrical engineer
banker
salesclerk
architect
police commissioner
doctor
watchmaker
farmer
village priest
old-book dealer

There is a total of 17 occupations for men covering a wide range of jobs from low-paid ones to very prestigious ones, while there are only four for women, none of which is prestigious. It is more significant that the two main male characters are cast in the prestigious positions of chemist and chemical engineer, all-male domains, while the two women are not given any occupation or profession at all. They are identified only by their relationship to the male characters: Marie is Roger's fiancée, Hélène is Jean's friend. This also is true of Louise Bedel, a character mentioned several times in the book. All we know about her is that "*elle va se marier la semaine prochaine*"—to an electrical engineer! The textbook *Son et Sens* in the illustration for Lesson 10 gives 15 occupations for men and eight for women; but almost all the ones for women are subordinate, low-paid, or unpaid jobs (stewardess, nurse, salesclerk, secretary, housewife, actress, factory worker, waitress). The groups of illustrations in the center of ALM-Level I entitled "People at Work" (pp. G10-G12) shows 11 varied occupations for men but only three for women (factory worker, farmer, model), while stating that one-third of France's women work.

The analysis of the roles of women in the textbooks greatly qualifies the original statistics on their presence. When women are present they are limited to subordinate roles. Men hold a great variety of jobs from low-paid to prestigious ones, while women are stewardesses, nurses, secretaries, mothers, or nothing at all.

III. *Distortion.* The category of distortion further qualifies the statistical material on the presence of women. Is the behavior of women presented in a distorted or limited manner? What situations are women shown in? How do they act? Do the textbook materials reinforce stereotypical attitudes and behavior and culturally-condoned sex characteristics (men active, independent, strong; women passive, dependent, emotional)? Are adjectives referring to physical appearance, manners, and personality used more often to refer to women than to men?

These questions can be answered through a content analysis of the behavior exhibited by male and female characters in dialogues, readings, and illustrations, and of the use of descriptive adjectives to refer to men and to women. The following categories for behavioral analysis have been adapted from a study of sex-role stereotyping in early readers[4]:

Category of Behavior	*Example from Textbook Dialogue*
1. Problem solving	ALM-Level I, Unit 7. "*C'est l'anniversaire de Maman*"
2. Getting help	ALM-Level I, Unit 10. "*Le devoir d'anglais*"
3. Giving help	ALM-Level I, Unit 10. "*Le devoir d'anglais*"
4. Social-recreational (parties, excursions, restaurant)	*Son et Sens*, Lesson 20. "*Un Pique-nique à la campagne*"
5. Travel	Harris & Lévêque, Conversation 7. "*Voyage à Rouen*"
6. Involvement in sports or physical exercise	ALM-Level II, Unit 17. "*Interview avec un coureur cycliste*"
7. Routine-repetitive (eating, shopping, self-care)	*Ecouter et Parler*, Lesson 10. "*Les Achats*"
8. Trivial (everyday) conversation	ALM-Level I, Unit 8. "*Le facteur et la concierge*"
9. Serious conversation	*A la Française*, Unit 9, deux. "*A pied, à cheval et en voiture*"
10. Using initiative (planning, giving suggestions)	ALM-Level I, Unit 5. "*On va au cinéma*"
11. Depending on others	ALM-Level I, Unit 5. "*On va au cinéma*"
12. Expressing emotion or feelings	*A la Française*, Unit 1, deux. "*Chacun ses goûts*"

The following worksheet gives a sample of how dialogues are analyzed according to the above categories. The categories are identified by number in parentheses after the description of the situation.

ALM-Level I. Situations of Basic Dialogues (Units 2-15)

Male and Female

Mme Mercier asks Anne and Michel to help her prepare dinner (2-3)
Jean-Louis invites Christine to a movie and solves the problem of transportation (10-11)
The mailman and the *concierge* exchange routine words (8-8)
Annick asks her brother Philippe to read her English composition (2-3)
Brigitte buys a scarf from a salesman (7-7)*

Male only

Claude and Philippe decide to enter stadium without girls who are late (4-4)
Robert and Daniel speak of swapping siblings (8-8)
Guy and Georges discuss lunch at school (8-8)
Jean and François decide on a gift for Mother's birthday (1-1)
Luc and Louis talk about Luc's American friends (8-8)
Bertrand and André look through a family album (8-8)
André fails a math test (12)
Pierre and Jacques discuss their vacations (5-5)

Female only

Brigitte and Françoise discuss clothes (8-8)*
Claudine talks incessantly on the telephone (8)

*Same dialogue

The sample analysis of situations according to the type of behavior exhibited shows males (who of course occur in greater numbers) in a variety of categories. When female and male characters occur in the same dialogue, it is the male who uses the initiative or gives help and the female who depends on him, or receives the help. When females occur alone, the situation is trivial or routine.

An analysis of the situations in Harris & Lévêque shows Jean and Roger doing a variety of different things from the very routine such as shopping, to more interesting, fun, or physically exertive activities such as visiting a country church, mushroom-hunting, and bikeriding. Marie, however, is portrayed shopping or talking about shopping in five out of the 12 dialogues she appears in. In two others she is shown worrying about somebody else's wedding. The book *Son et Sens* had an unusual ratio of female to male speakers of 2:1.[5] When the situations of the dialogues are analyzed, one sees that the book has predominantly social-recreational, trivial, and routine activities. The stories center around a group of teenagers who go to the beach, the movies, cafés. Again, female characters, even the younger ones, tend to be limited to domestic roles, while the males have a much wider range of activities.

A content analysis of descriptive adjectives referring to males and to females can be done according to the following categories: physical appearance (height, beauty, age, coloring, etc.); manners and personality (polite/rude, pleasant/disagreeable, nice, etc.); intelligence and skill; physical, mental, or emotional strength; success, happiness, active life. Results show that females are valued for their looks, while males are valued for their intelligence or skill. The first question usually asked about an unknown female character is *Est-elle jolie*?

IV. *Degradation.* The category of degradation refers to degrading or condescending statements or generalizations made about women. Does the textbook have examples of culturally-condoned antifeminist attitudes? Are women perceived as the unpleasant "other"? Are there examples of "girl-watching"?

In the analysis of a textbook, a list of statements should be compiled that refer to women as: a useless complication; a danger; shrewish, bitchy, meddling, manipulating; usually late; illogical, inept, irrational, or too intelligent for their own good; silly, stupid, childish, "cute"; talkative, scatterbrained, flighty; valued for looks.

Results show that women are not only excluded, reduced to subordinate roles, portrayed in a distorted manner, but also subjected to degrading statements. Female characters very often are perceived as unpleasant if they are too intelligent or if they are stupid or flighty. The following dialogue and variations on it are typical:

Jean-Charles: *Qui est Micheline?*
Patrick: *La soeur de Vincent.*
Jean-Charles: *Elle est jolie?*
Patrick: *Oui, elle n'est pas mal, mais je la trouve énervante.*
Jean-Charles: *Pourquoi?*
Patrick: *Elle discute avec tout le monde.*
Jean-Charles: *Elle est intelligente?*
Patrick: *Oui, trop.*

(ALM-Level I, p. 151)

If female characters dare to express an opinion or *discuter*, they are seen as too intelligent. If they conform to the stereotypical image of women as flighty, silly, or talkative, they are called *bête*. Females also are commonly referred to as *bavarde* and *en retard*. When women are not perceived as unpleasant by the men, they are valued for their beauty alone:

> Louis: *Et la fille, comment est-elle? Blonde? Brune?*
> Luc: *Rousse. Et elle n'est pas mal du tout.*
> (ALM-Level I, p. 155)

Women and Men in Real Life

As these sample statistics and examples show, our French language textbooks are indeed guilty of portraying a negative, stereotypical image of women. Women and girls are not shown in the wide variety of activities they engage in in real life. Women do, of course, cook and shop. But these are not the only activities they engage in, nor are they by any means the most important. In France today women comprise about 37 percent of the labor force and hold a variety of occupations including prestigious ones. Yet in textbooks they are rarely portrayed outside of the domestic setting. Women in real life travel, engage in sports, have serious conversations, solve major and minor problems, use initiative, and fix things. Why can't we see this in textbooks?

It is not only the women who suffer from the latent content and subliminal messages of our textbooks. For if we are squeezing our girls into the mold of the textbook "woman," we also are stretching our boys to stand tall and live up to the image of the textbook "man." We tell our girls not to achieve, create, or be too intelligent. But the message we give our boys is that they have to shoulder all the burdens of success, decision making, and responsibility. They must not show emotions, doubts, or weaknesses. It is no wonder that many men die of heart attacks at an early age!

This is not meant as an appeal to rewrite textbooks according to artificial statistical equality, nor to violate the cultural accuracy of male and female roles in various societies. It would be ridiculous to show 50 percent women students at the *Ecole Polytechnique.* But it would not be ridiculous to include a reading about the first woman admitted to the

Ecole Polytechnique, or the first woman pilot in France. By the same token, one could show men dancers or artists, or men who have doubts or are afraid. What is asked is a greater variety of roles for both boys and girls, men and women to identify with, and an increase in the element of choice, so that each individual is inspired to the highest use of his or her capabilities. In principle women now are granted equality of job opportunity. But how will employers be convinced that women are good candidates for their jobs if instructional materials continue to portray women as less than mature adults capable of making decisions and assuming responsibilities?

Recommendations for Teachers

How can we as teachers and educators help to remedy the situation? The key to dealing with sexism in instructional materials begins with teacher awareness. We must begin by evaluating our own attitudes. Do we set different expectations for boys and girls? Are our own examples and materials sexist? Once we have become aware of the problems, we can begin to compensate for the sexism in the textbooks by such techniques as role reversal, humor, and personalization. Ask questions such as "Could this story have been about a girl?" "What happens to this dialogue "Could this story have been about a girl?" "What happens to this dialogue if we change boys' names to girls' names?" "Are women always late?" "Are men late too?" "Does your mother work?" When we write our own materials, we can make an effort to include men and women in nonstereotypical roles and to recognize the achievements of famous women.

The next target is the school board. Pressure can be exerted to create committees to review currently-used materials and those under consideration for purchase for both racism and sexism. Where no nonsexist materials are available or suitable from a pedagogical point of view, funds should be made available for the development of nonsexist supplementary materials. Workshops and inservice meetings for teachers also should be organized around the problem of compensating for racism and sexism in instructional materials.[6]

Finally, we should write letters to the authors and publishers of the textbooks we are using and express our discontent with the sexist attitudes inherent in the materials. The Feminist Press Staff Survey of 15

New York educational publishers showed varying degrees of awareness. Some companies have published guidelines for improving the image of women in textbooks, others report plans for eliminating sexism.[7] Clearly more pressure is needed, particularly if the still yet unpublished HEW guidelines for Title IX of the 1972 education amendments to the Higher Education Act do not prohibit sex bias in textbooks and instructional materials.[8]

Conclusion

Progress is being made. To date most of it has occurred in the realm of children's books in English. Long bibliographies of nonsexist materials are available from such organizations as the Feminist Press and the Feminists on Children's Media. Some new French language textbooks have made an attempt to portray more women and in nonstereotypical ways.[9] Unfortunately, much more work must be done before both sexes are treated as whole human beings with human strengths and weaknesses instead of masculine and feminine ones.

Notes

1. Marjorie U'Ren, "The Image of Woman in Textbooks," in *Woman in Sexist Society*, edited by Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran (New York: Basic Books, 1971), pp. 318-19.
2. *Dick and Jane as Victims: Sex Stereotyping in Children's Readers* (Princeton, N.J., 1972), pp. 6, 52-53.
3. Richard W. O'Donnell, "Sex Bias in Primary Social Studies Textbooks," *Educational Leadership* 31 (November 1973): 140.
4. Terry N. Saario, C.N. Jacklin, and C.K. Tittle, "Sex Role Stereotyping in the Public Schools," *Harvard Educational Review* 43 (August 1973): 392-93.
5. In several cases there are female speakers who talk about the exploits of their male friends and relatives. The dialogue should perhaps be analyzed by starring role rather than by speaker.
6. The example of the Kalamazoo Public Schools serves as a good model for change. See Section IV of the Bibliography under Ahlum and *Recommendations*.
7. "Any Change in Sexist Texts?: Feminist Press Staff Survey Education Publishers," *Women's Studies Newsletter* 2 (Summer 1974): 1, 8-11.
8. Title IX prohibits sex discrimination in educational institutions or systems receiving federal aid.
9. *A la Française*, for example, shows a father actively involved in routine family life, washing dishes, and playing cards with mother (p. 31), and has stories about a young woman who goes off to Paris to study chemistry (pp. 277, 290-91). Proof pages from Albert Valdman's new text *A Basic Course in French* (Macmillan, 1975) also promise a nonstereotypical image of women.

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10

Preparing Teachers for Cultural Pluralism

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If proliferation of terminology is an indicator of increasing awareness or concern, then the educational community is moving, however slowly and belatedly, in the direction of recognizing and even valuing cultural ethnic diversity in our society. Terms like cultural pluralism, multicultural, multiethnic, intercultural, intergroup, subcultures, and cocultures appear with increasing frequency in article titles found in the professional literature and in topics presented and discussed at conferences and workshops. The important differences between these terms are not to be minimized, but I would point out a significant similarity inherent in each of them. Each suggests more than one perspective of the world.

This concept is basic to the study of foreign languages and comes as no great surprise to foreign language teachers. What is lamentable is that we have not shared our cultural experiences with colleagues in other fields. We took it for granted and didn't know how valuable it was. It is time for foreign language teachers to share their unique perspective with history and social studies colleagues and others who should be involved in the multicultural movement.

In Minneapolis the desegregation-integration of the schools made it imperative that all educational staff receive training in the skills that would help carry out this change successfully. The Task Force for Human Relations for Teacher Education outlined in its 1970 position paper the components of a program designed as the initial step toward enabling the professionals in education to "determine the appropriate learnings and experiences that an individual must have to make him more humane."

The Human Relations Guidelines state that a program shall include four major components. Teachers are expected to be able to:

1. Understand the contributions and life styles of the various cultural groups in our society
2. Recognize and deal with dehumanizing biases, discrimination, and prejudices
3. Create learning environments that contribute to the self-esteem of all persons and to positive interpersonal relations
4. Respect human diversity and personal rights.

The school system undertook human relations training of a general nature, and requirements were established for recertification by the State of Minnesota. It was not long, however, before teachers expressed the need to apply general principles to specific subject matter areas and to identify content relevant to the human relations effort.

The Minneapolis Foreign Language Department took the initiative and organized a group of foreign language teachers who laid the groundwork for the human relations course: Improving Cross-Cultural Understanding. Funded by the MPS/UM Teacher Center, the course was cosponsored by the Minneapolis Public Schools and the University of Minnesota and cotaught by a foreign language teacher in the school system and a faculty member at the university. Participants were granted credit by either institution.

Self-Assessment

As part of the course, participants used the Human Relations Guidelines document to rate their ability in 15 competencies on a scale of one (low) to six (high), for example:

> demonstrate knowledge of life-styles that differ from those of the majority culture and identify ways in which these life-styles serve the participants in the culture

demonstrate knowledge of words, phrases or labels which are viewed as derogatory by specific cultural groups

demonstrate willingness to encounter people considerably different from oneself

demonstrate respect for diversity in opinions, attitudes, appearances, abilities and behaviors

demonstrate ability to assist students to experience success and learn in a variety of ways

The participants' self-assessment served to focus their attention on exactly what the human relations' competencies were and on the course's primary objective, which was to enable participants to implement these competencies in the classroom.

The Retreat

The course was designed to begin with a weekend retreat, from after school Friday until Sunday noon. A retreat serves two vital purposes. First, it removes participants from their usual surroundings which often tend to inhibit or even obstruct the very changes in feeling, attitudes, and thinking that a course such as this hopes to effect. Second, it helps create an atmosphere of trust that is essential when people are asked to share mistakes and tentative successes, while critiquing each other in the process.

One activity scheduled during the retreat was a cross-cultural simulation. Basically the purpose was to: (1) explore the term *culture* and recognize some characteristics of cultures; (2) create feelings similar to those one will likely have in encountering a different culture or value system; (3) give participants experience in observing and interacting with a culture that differs from their own. The participants divided into two groups and "became" two different cultures with a language and a set of rules governing behavior. The simulation proceeded using observers, exchanging visitors for interaction with the other culture, and ended with a debriefing of the entire group.

The strength of using simulation techniques lies in the active involvement of the participants which allows anxieties, feelings, frustrations, and misperceptions to surface. The debriefing sessions made it possible for participants to discuss their involvement in a low-risk setting. The participants gave the simulation the highest rating in their evaluations.

Workshops

Throughout the course, several workshops on a variety of cultural topics were conducted by experts in each of the identified areas. They included:

1. Ned Seelye–*Analysis and Teaching of the Cross Cultural Context.*
2. Ray Gorden–*Analyzing Familiar and Foreign Cultures.*
3. Nelson Brooks–*Choosing Cultural Themes and Topics.*
4. Helen Jorstad and Horst Momber–*Cross-Cultural Learning: Sources of Information and Classroom Practices.*
5. Rebecca Vallette–*Evaluating the Students' Ability to Cope with Cultural Diversity in Foreign and American Cultures.*

Videotaped presentations and lecture-demonstrations provided information and concepts for teaching culture. Questions asked by the presenters involved the participants in discussions and stimulated interaction with each other. In one instance, participants were connected with Nelson Brooks via long distance phone. Exercises throughout the video presentations enabled the pre- and inservice teachers to work through some of the concepts before proceeding to the task of planning and writing the activities they would use with their students in class the following week.

The format specified in the Activity Log was followed by all participants (*See Appendix A*).

More than 200 activities were written and implemented by pre- and inservice teachers during the course of the workshops. (At this writing the series has been given three times and a fourth is being scheduled.)

In Appendices B and C two very different completed activity logs are included in their entirety to illustrate the range and excellence of activities. However, readers will miss the sharing sessions where these logs were reviewed, critiqued, and refined. Participants considered this aspect the most helpful in developing their activities.

The support system built by the weekly sharing sessions is a dynamic that educators in foreign languages, and other areas as well, should consider as a component that continues beyond the last meeting date of the training program. To effect real change in the field, such a support mechanism is essential in any preservice/inservice program.

Working in small groups, the participants developed criteria for choosing activities for the foreign language classroom. The check list consisting initially of 30 items included the following:

Check "yes" or "no"

Yes	No	THE ACTIVITY
_____	_____	has clearly defined objectives.
_____	_____	allows for individual differences in student ability and interests.
_____	_____	portrays the cultural context from which attitudes and values emerge.
_____	_____	accurately reflects the life-styles and contributions of both men and women, various groups (racial, ethnic, religious, socioeconomic).
_____	_____	has real life application. It is believable.
_____	_____	includes time and plan for debriefing.

Teachers indicated that lesson plans should be checked against the list. A preponderance of "nos" would be an indicator to revise the activities planned for the classroom.

Conclusion

Participants were asked to evaluate each of the workshop sessions on the following points:

A. Videotape presentation
B. Tasks you were asked to do
C. Did you get any ideas you can use in your classroom?
D. Direction and leadership
E. Suggestions

The feedback was positive. However, the videotape presentations did not fare as well as we had hoped, but the response indicated that it was the medium and not the message that was at fault.

Another brief questionnaire asked the preservice teachers to rate themselves in their ability to react to inservice teachers and vice versa. Participants also were asked how they felt about the idea of "training" together, and whether the interactions between pre- and inservice teachers contributed to ideas for the planning and teaching of culture? The results indicated that pre- and inservice teachers like training together, have no problems relating to each other, and find the interaction beneficial.

The reassessment of the skills measured at the beginning of the workshops revealed that a significant number of the participants rated themselves lower at the end of the workshops. In discussing this with the group, it was discovered that an increased understanding of the implications of the competencies created a corresponding increase in expectations for the participant.

A committee of foreign language teachers is currently in the process of selecting and editing activity logs for the Office of Intergroup Education. The activities were limited to the cultures of the languages taught in Minneapolis, however, the implications for other cultural and ethnic groups in American society are obvious. The same strategies and techniques of analysis can be applied.

Appendix A
Activity Log

Spring Quarter
1974

Name ____________________
Date ____________________

Human Relations Competency

In this space, write the competency with which you intend to work.

Activity

Does not have to differ from normal classroom activity.

a. *Objective(s)*: State what the objective is intended to help students to learn, in terms of student behavior (seen or unseen).
   Procedures: List the materials, equipment and steps you will take in helping students arrive at the objective.

Evaluation

a. *Students' reaction*: Solicit from students their statements regarding the activity.
b. *Your reaction to competency-related activity*: Describe your reaction to the students' participation in this activity.

Describe your own behavior and its effect, if any, on the group.

Appendix B
Activity Log

Spring Quarter
1974

Name Mary Jan Roe
Date

Human Relations Competency

Create learning environments which contribute to the self-esteem of all persons and to positive interpersonal relations.

Activity

a. *Objective(s)*: The students will demonstrate their ability to understand and empathize with French teenagers and their lives in and out of school by producing materials connected with the project that would be interesting and appropriate to their French counterparts.

b. *Procedures*: This is a continuing project that was initiated several weeks ago when a teacher of English in Montlucon, France, and I began corresponding. We each asked a class if they were interested in "meeting" through correspondence, slides, tapes, etc., their counterparts in the foreign culture. They were *very* enthusiastic. The French students, of course, had to seek permission for the time to do it (nonacademic, as they described it) and received 10 percent of their academic time to work on the project. They next had to earn the money to fund their plan to make a documentary on Montlucon for us. My second year students found the principal agreeable to funding part of their project (*quelle difference!*) and began a slide and tape documentary of the Twin Cities and their school life. In making choices, they needed to:
   1. decide what things would most demonstrate our life here as contrasted with the foreign culture
   2. demonstrate an ability to understand the French system of education as contrasted with ours (this has led to many interesting class discussions)
   3. decide what aspects of their lives would be of most interest to French students
   4. demonstrate an ability to be open toward the foreign culture
   5. demonstrate an ability to plan together with the teacher and each other. An AFS student from French-speaking Belgium became a valuable resource.

Evaluation

A letter from France arrived this week. The enthusiasm on the part of the French students was evident; the letter itself demonstrated many aspects of the French character (loyalty, pride, politeness), and led to much discussion of the French culture and what should be included in our own project (that is, life in the French lycée, youth interest in folklore, etc.). There was warmth felt from *both* sides. I feel it has been and continues to be a very positive experience in interpersonal relations.

Appendix C
Activity Log

Spring Quarter
1974

Name Barb Gunderson
Date February 11, 1974

Human Relations Competency

Recognize and deal with dehumanizing biases, discrimination and prejudices.

Activity

a. *Objective(s)*:
   1. Students become aware of stereotyping
   2. Students become more aware of the kind of generalizations they make about people who speak different languages as well as about the languages themselves.

b. *Procedures*: Seventh grade "Introduction to Language" class
   All students were asked which of the four languages (French, German, Spanish, Russian) was:
   - (a) the most masculine
   - (b) the most feminine
   - (c) the most romantic
   - (d) the most intellectual
   - (e) the happiest

   They also were asked to give the reasons why they felt this way.

   2. Results of above were used as basis of followup discussion. Each day following one aspect was discussed. (For example, Monday: *most masculine language*: Russian-15, German-3, French-2, Spanish-1.) Reasons given on questionnaire were discussed and evaluated. Four more discussion sessions will follow. Emphasis will be placed upon sharing information that contradicts assumptions to point out that generalizing can be misleading.

Evaluation

Only the first discussion day has passed. Students are beginning to see the point. They can handle a "French is for girls, Russian is for boys" statement better now, I believe. They have a beginning understanding of "stereotype." Good to limit discussion to 10 minutes each day.

11

Study-Travel Abroad

Sue Reynolds
Nashville, Tennessee, Metropolitan Public Schools

It is a crisp October evening. Students, accompanied by their parents, eagerly walk along the wide corridors of a high school on their way to an orientation meeting for the spring travel tour to Europe. The excitement felt by these young people as they plan their first trip abroad is contagious. What an experience they have ahead of them! Students, parents, and teachers gather in the auditorium of McGavock Comprehensive High School to see a movie on travel in Europe and to ask questions of the representative of the commercial study-travel organization that is handling arrangements. Such meetings are common to educational groups that initiate foreign study-travel programs. In the Nashville, Tennessee, school system this is the second year for a spring vacation tour. For nine days and nights, Europe becomes our classroom, our laboratory for learning.

The purpose of this venture is to give students and teachers a first-hand experience with the language and culture. What better learning experience for both teacher and student? Our program, relatively simple and uncomplicated, has been negotiated with a commercial educational study-travel agency. A charter will originate out of Nashville to London and Paris; the cost will be around $500. Those students wishing to go to

Spain or Germany will hook up with charters in New York for a comparable fare. For the teachers this program offers the benefit of a low chaperone ratio—one to eight and courier services in the foreign countries.

Many school systems sponsor such foreign travel programs for high school students. There are, however, a variety of other programs sponsored or offered by foreign language departments of local public schools, colleges, and universities. This paper will present an overview of five different travel and/or study programs.

Study-Travel Exchange Programs

The first study abroad program described is really an exchange of students. Studying French, Spanish, or German is made relevant by this unique exchange. Barbara Seaman, chairman of the Foreign Language Department at Ballwin Parkway West Senior High School, Ballwin, Missouri, describes their program in the following account.

The Parkway West Foreign Language Department sponsors three exchange programs—with Germany, Spain, and France respectively. Each is different, and yet each attempts to achieve the same goals. The goals perhaps are described most aptly as antidotes to the problems faced in any high school foreign language program. Many students tend to view the language as a fixed body of complex patterns lying dormant between the covers of a book. The fact that the textbook is only a linear portrayal of a dynamic vital *people* probably would come as not much more of a shock than discovering algebraic formulas spoken in Algebraland. And, in an era where nearly every other subject can be "covered" in a semester or two, foreign language courses may appear to the student to stretch endlessly before him. The natural consequence: declining enrollments.

Our remedy? The exchange programs. An exchange, as we view it, is *not* a penpal arrangement; it is *not* merely the transporting of bodies across oceans. It is *not* tourism. It is the pairing of schools, of language classes, of teachers, of students. A successful exchange will add a new dimension to the lives of the persons involved. The rain will make you wonder if it's raining on their school today, too. The homecoming will prompt you to take pictures for *them* (how to explain "homecoming"?) Your mother is already talking about redecorating the extra bedroom for The Visit, and their letters will make you laugh at their misuse of the

English language ("Do they laugh at our letters, too?")

I would like to describe in detail the French exchange since we conceived of the notion five years ago, and it is the only one of our exchanges sponsored entirely by the two paired schools. The other programs are sponsored by two existing international organizations and a full description of their aims and methods can be found in their brochures.

The French exchange is a friendly arrangement among three teachers (one in France and two at Parkway West). It is in its fifth consecutive year, and is continuous throughout the school year with time out in the summer. The program starts in the fall when all the classes involved (French classes at Parkway, English classes at Lycée de Clamart) write introductory letters, class to class. These are followed by whatever strikes the students' fancy. In the past we have sent all of the following: posters (homemade and purchased); Jello; teeshirts with writing on them; student-made tapes of American civilization (politics, vacations, readings from comic books); Paul Bunyan; Tom Sawyer; popular paperbacks; bumper stickers; decals and buttons; whiskey sour mix; menus; license plates; report cards; tapes of *Jesus Christ Superstar* and other rock favorites; a student-made lexicon of current slang expressions of American English; school newspapers; dozens of slides of America (from family collections of old vacations); a student-made album of photos showing "A Day in the Life of an American Teenager"; questionnaires on a chosen topic to be sent back (school life, food prices, family activities). In return we have received the equivalent of most of the above mentioned items, and in addition a collection of wine and cheese labels; a student-made comic book about their school and town; a 30-minute film and tape about their school; 20 small bottles of perfume; and six packs of French cigarettes.

The next phase of the program is to begin to organize the Easter visit which alternates according to the year. This year Paris comes to St. Louis for two weeks. The ideal, we feel, is to have one week of vacation and one week of school. It's hard to say which is harder work for the teachers: to kick off or to receive. In any case the season between Christmas and Easter is filled with planning on both sides. Then the visit: an exhausting, emotional, funny, exciting happening of seemingly vast proportions. The visitors are placed one to a family and left to fend for themselves.

It would be difficult to measure exactly what the students gain but something that has been brewing for several months suddenly jells. Take language skills—their verbs are just as bad and their vocabulary (with the exception of ?$!% and ?!%?) is unimproved. But their *confidence* in understanding and speaking is way up. Take attitude—anything the fictitious French in our textbook do is "dumb" (translation: different). But when the 35 "free samples" arrive from France they are valued for that very difference. Take enthusiasm: several families from the first exchange five years ago still are exchanging (including some parents) even though the two teachers who initiated the program have long since changed schools. Kids are already planning the next trip to France and it's a year and a half away. Enrollment in French classes is up 25 percent over two years ago.

The Spanish and German exchanges are new and give all signs of equal success. The Spanish exchange is under the auspices of the Spanish Heritage Association, and began for us last summer when they sent 45 high school students from Spain for the month of July. Our students have been in correspondence with those from a school in Figueras and plan to stay with them for the month of July this coming summer.

The German exchange is still in the fledgling stage but we hope to be accepted by the School Exchange Service which will send us 15 students at Easter time (they may have to bring their own desks as the French exchange students will be here simultaneously!) and it is planned for our students to return the visit to Germany next summer.

The following letters are typical of those we have received after an exchange. Let them stand as a symbol of the friendships formed.

> Dear Mrs. Wilde,
>
> Yesterday, I received a letter of Mrs. Carmen García and inside had a letter of you for me. . . . When I read this letter I was very happy because I seed you remember of we. I want to tell you again thank you very much for to open your houses for we.
>
> I hope you can understand my letter. I know my English is not so good. I miss you very much.
>
> Felipe

> Dear Pam,
>
> I hope you've made a good trip. I listen to "Harvest", I like this record. Sometimes I put your hat but no in the lycée because he flies (to fly—he flys? ou flies?—on my motorbycicle. I think of you when I put it. I cried

> when you went home. I was with Jean-Luc and Philippe–them also was sad. At 10h30, at the lycée you departure's day, I saw Brigitte, Christine and Martine; I cried and them also, because you've gone out. . . Brigitte is well. Her family has said that you're very nice. Have you drank the champagne? Do your father like our mustard?
>
> Catherine

Full-Rigged for Frisia: Intersession in Germany

Ortrun Gilbert of Middle Tennessee State University, Murfreesboro, Tennessee, is a vivacious, energetic woman known for her ability to generate ideas and carry out worthwhile projects. Below are her reflections on "Full-Rigged for Frisia" an intersession course (German 305) offered in Spring 1974. Her diarylike account of each day spent in Northern Germany gives us an idea of the uniqueness of her venture. She generously offers guidelines for the reader who may plan a similar trip.

My former home is northern Germany; Bremen, to be exact. This part of Germany is quite remote from the American traveler's idea of Germany. Most tourists aim for the romantic south. In teaching my students something about German culture (with all types of "C"), I began to realize how unaware most of them were of the proximity of other German related areas (that is, The Netherlands and Denmark) and how little they knew of the historic relationship (and conflicts) among these particular areas. Some of my answers to their inquiries were totally inadequate. Books did not help either. I am neither an historian nor a political scientist. I can teach the language, and I possess some general knowledge in all areas of German culture, but I am no expert in any one field. The idea of "finding out right on the spot" was born in my classroom. It was a tremendous challenge. Students from another class (Composition and Conversation) got word about our plans. As part of their composition assignments, some drew up letters in German to be sent to tourist offices and chambers of commerce in some 60 chosen towns after the culture class students had mapped out a desirable route within our chosen area. Other composition students wrote letters to the German Consulate, to Inter-Nationes, to Lufthansa German Airlines, and to other German organizations in the United States (AATG, NFSG, etc.). A special bulletin board became the focal point for "postal news." The answers to our letters were immediate and positive. From Meppen (Murfreesboro's proposed sister city) came a personal invitation: the parents of the Gymnasium students (equivalent to senior high school and junior college students) offered free hospitality for the three days we were planning to spend there. The city of Celle proposed a free tour through the *Moeck Blockflöten* manufacturing plant. The Volkswagon Plant in Wolfsburg wanted us to be their special guests (we did not keep the appointment). There were many other genuine invitations. We were jubilant.

Following is a thumbnail sketch of our journey: *1st day:* Departure from New York. *2nd day:* Arrive in Hamburg (change in Cologne where our Tennessee Dogwood is delivered to a friend of our university). We are met by a personal friend and guided through *Planten un Blomen* after a short visit to the *Museum für Kunst und Gewerbe.* That same day we leave by fast train to Bremen where our host families meet us. The three days in Bremen are filled with sightseeing, visiting "special" places, and our presentation of American music. The visit culminates in a gala reception in the Senate chambers. *6th day:* we depart from Bremen in three rented VWs. We travel secondary scenic routes, cross large and small waterways by ferry, and stop for two nights in the Albersdorf Youth Hotel (first culture shock! Only cold running water!) Some attend church this first Sunday in Germany and are impressed with the services and the fine music. After some individual exploring of the vicinity, also happening into a marvelous evening of baroque chamber music, we leave Albersdorf on the *8th day.* On our way to the island Föhr we stop at *Kunsthandweberei* (artweaving, by hand only). The cars stay on the mainland, we sail out on the North Sea toward Wyk auf Föhr for two blissful days in a private *pension.* During our island stay we take a short boat trip to Hallig Hooge. The *11th day* finds us on the road to Flensburg via Denmark (just for the cheese); we find quarters in the family unit of an extremely modern Youth Hostel. After some sightseeing (Tonder and Glücksburg) we drive on to Schleswig. Our two nights are spent in the Danish Youth Home, not far from the center of town. My friend, the main curator of Schleswig's *Heimatmuseum* shows us his town. This is a very special treat. On the *13th day* we travel to Eutin (Youth Hostel) with stopovers at the Baltic Sea and the family of friends (for an enormous *Kuchenschlacht*). There we also get to see a large, well-run Holstein farm. The weather on the *14th day* cancels our planned Five-Lake excursion. It has become windy, rainy, and cold. But we are amply rewarded by appearing at the birthday party of another good friend. Spirits are high. *15th day:* On to Lauenburg (Youth Hostel) by way of Lubeck (we are treated to music and more beautiful sights of an old Hanseatic city.) We also stop near Rothenhusen where we have a close look at the East German border. The roadbridge just ends in mid-air, and an eerie sight confronts us on the other side. *16th day:* Celle. We are staying at a real country inn, just outside of the town. The next morning we do our laundry, but we also visit the recorder factory *Moeck* (famous for its fine baroque instruments). *17th day:* We finally see the Water Cross (where the Mittellandkanal crosses the Weser). The landscape has changed. We encounter rolling hills. Hausberge has a fine youth hostel and beautiful German children sing for us in their best English "We Shall Overcome." *18th day:* We reach Meppen, our second home away from home. The host parents are waiting for us in the schoolyard. We are received royally. The town fathers hold an informal but dignified reception in the city hall for our group. That evening we present our concert once more to an enthusiastic audience. Now, we must part with our cars. This is a sad moment. On the morning of the *20th day*, our host families wave us off. We are on the train to Siegen. For two beautiful days we are surrounded by historic castles, churches, and fairytale hills. The weather is unbelievably warm. Our minds are heavy with the thought of the next two days. We have reached the end of our journey, when we arrive in Frankfurt on the *22nd day.* It is *Whitsuntide.* Frankfurt is calm, radiant but distant from our North German friends. *23rd day:* We gather our baggage and head for the airport. Our feelings are mixed. There is the awesome moment of leaving, combined with looking forward to coming home to our own families. One thing is certain–it has been a wonderful journey in all respects.

May I summarize the obvious prerequisites for a journey like ours (or any personalized journey!):

1. Limit your journey to a specific area you are familiar with.
2. Limit the number of participants (8, plus you, is ideal).
3. Set your standards for participation (at least one year of foreign language is recommended).
4. Have each participant write a thumbnail sketch of himself or herself, listing personal interests and hobbies. This should go to your contact overseas who is finding host families for your participants.
5. Make personal contacts in host country's language.
6. Be sure of full cooperation on part of your department or school.

7. Let your friendly local travel agent handle the flight arrangements.
8. Let your school or travel agent handle *all* financial matters other than room and board money. If you find your own overland transportation, let your travel agent handle the financial end of it, for your protection.
9. Be sure you have a comprehensive waiver, signed and notarized, from each participant. Let your department or school keep it safe for you.
10. Obtain from *every* participant a birth certificate and two passport photos. Keep those with you throughout the journey in case one of your people loses a passport (it happened to me!). An expired passport will do too.
11. Leave a listing of overseas addresses (complete with itinerary) with each participant's family *and* your department or school.
12. Prepare your participants well in advance for the "little" cultural differences with the help of visual materials (films, slides, etc.), discussions with local citizens from your host country and students who have been on this type of journey before.
13. Practice sewing sleeping bags (sheet type), packing (maximum 20 pounds for 22 days), prepare foreign food for get-togethers (this could be turned into a money-making project!), and stay enthusiastic but do *not* overstate–prepare yourself for the ups and downs of this type of journey. The better your preparation the greater your total enjoyment.
14. Be sure that all students have had a thorough medical examination. Take along a small emergency apothecary, especially aspirins (foreign aspirins are quite different in their effect). Caution your students that their personal ills (such as allergies, etc.) are their responsibility.
15. Let the students take responsibility wherever possible.

Concordia Language Villages Abroad

Concordia College of Moorhead, Minnesota, has a challenging program abroad for campers who wish to bicycle and camp through various European countries. This program, entitled "Concordia Language Villages Abroad," is described by Alvin P. Traaseth, Coordinator of the Language Villages.

Since 1961, when the first German Village was established, the Concordia College Language Villages have been providing domestic programs that are "the next best thing to being there." New programs also have been developed in French, Norwegian, Spanish, Russian, and most recently, Swedish.

Camping in the Soviet Union. It was in 1972 that the Russian Village took the first group to the Soviet Union. The participants, 22 of them, flew to Frankfurt, Germany, picked up their rented VW minibuses, loaded their camping equipment, and set out through West Germany, Czechoslovakia, and Poland, and then into the Soviet Union. Five weeks later they had driven some 3,000 miles and found themselves in Helsinki, Finland.

During that period, the group did not stay in a single hotel. Instead they utilized campgrounds–available in all the countries–providing the opportunity to be in contact with Soviet people in a very natural setting, as well as exposing the group to cities not usually visited by tourists, such as Lvov, Kursk, and Oryol, plus, of course, all the towns and cities along the highway.

Bicycling in Brittany. In the summer of 1973 a program was begun in France. A new element was added to this experience. Since bicycling was becoming a popular mode of transportation, it was decided that it would be a challenge for American students to bicycle in Brittany for about three weeks traveling about 350 miles. Here again the student came in contact with the French people in a very unique way, traveling through some very remote and rural places where English is spoken much less than in the areas normally visited by tourists.

The bicycle itself, a 10-speed Peugeot, became an important aspect of the experience. Since its cost was included in the total price of the program, the participant brought it back home with him, and it served to bring back many fond memories of his experience with French culture.

Bicycling the Medieval Pilgrimage Route in Spain. Because the French bicycle program was so successful and well received, a similar program was developed in Northern Spain. The immediate response of some was "you are crazy," feeling that the mountains and traffic would make this an impossible task. Nevertheless, the decision was made to proceed with plans and the program was carried out most successfully this past summer.

Again, the bicycle was an important element. Bicycle manufacturers in Spain were contacted, and the Torrot bicycle company in Vitoria offered to provide the necessary bicycles. They were most cooperative in the development of this program.

The specific goal of this program was to reach the sacred shrine at Santiago de Compostela, where St. James is said to be buried, by following the same route used by the pilgrims in the Middle Ages. Arrival at the shrine provided a fitting climax to the experience and gave the students an inkling of what the pilgrims had experienced so many years before.

Backpacking in the Austrian Alps. For the German speaking participants, a backpacking program in the Austrian Alps was developed. Beginning at Lech, the participants hiked from hut to hut and on the way enjoyed the thrills that accompany a walk in the Alps. Another important aspect of the German program was the five-day homestay in Borken which had been established through personal contacts.

In each of the programs described above, the natives who join our staff once we arrive in Europe contribute greatly to the success of the projects. In the French and Spanish programs, for example, there was one native staff member for every 10 participants.

University Program Abroad

Opportunities for students to travel and study abroad under sponsorships of colleges and universities are numerous. The American college student is able to choose from a rich variety of travel-study programs. Students may go abroad for varying periods of time from a few weeks to a full year. William Hatfield of Purdue University recently spent two years in Europe directing foreign study programs; below he describes the university based program in Strasbourg, France.

In 1964 Purdue University joined with Indiana University and the University of Wisconsin in establishing foreign study programs in Strasbourg, France, and Hamburg, Germany. These full-year programs provide university students with in-depth experience in language and culture.

Each university sends 15 students to the foreign study centers which are directed on a rotating basis by professors from the three home campuses. These directors and their families provide a home away from home for the students in addition to fulfilling the traditional responsibilities of counseling, reporting grades, securing student housing, organizing excursions, and tending to health and other personal needs of their charges.

Any student on either of the three campuses, Purdue, Indiana, or

Wisconsin, may compete for the opportunity to participate in this study abroad program. The minimum requirements are 15 semester hours in the target language and an overall B average. Qualifying exams are administered to determine if the candidate has minimum language proficiency. After the language proficiency exams are completed, personal interviews in English and the target language are conducted by former resident directors and other faculty. Through these interviews an assessment is made of the students' language facility and knowledge of either German or French culture. An attempt also is made to evaluate the students' potential for adapting to life in a different community and culture.

The diversity of areas of study open to the participating students makes this a noteworthy program. Biology, mathematics, and engineering majors participate as well as foreign language and humanities majors. In an expanding program at the University of Hamburg, a Purdue engineering student can study using a course syllabus from Purdue but under the guidance of a Hamburg professor. Negotiations are underway with the University of Strasbourg to permit Purdue students of agriculture to have experiences working at the Agricultural Institute.

Most American students are not prepared to enter into a full program of academic work at a foreign university. As a consequence, special institutes for foreigners have been established at French universities. These are variously called *Institut International des Etudes Françaises Modernes* at Strasbourg and *Comité de Patronage* at Grenoble. The curriculum includes courses in language skills, literature, linguistics, phonetics, civilization and culture, French history, political science, *Explications de Texte, Dissertation,* and *Accroissement du Vocabulaire.* After successful completion of these courses, students receive a *Diplôme* designating one of three levels of achievement. Achievement at the third (highest) level allows the student to enroll in the university as a regular degree candidate.

Even though these "institutes" have provided excellent training for our students, there is the possibility of isolation from the French student community. To avoid such isolation from the foreign culture, the Purdue-Indiana program at Strasbourg has arranged for students to take one, two, or more courses in the regular *Facultés*. This insures contact with French students. Often the student may elect to do the same work as the French students and be evaluated in the same manner. On the other hand, he may request the Resident Director to arrange a special examination to cover the work he has been able to do for the course. Minimum standards for the work completed is determined by the director and the professor teaching the course. All participating students are encouraged to take at least one regular course at the French or German University.

The Purdue-Indiana program at Strasbourg has as a special feature the orientation program called *stage*. The *stage* consists of a five week intensive language program with excursions into the neighboring areas. This intensive program is designed to increase language proficiency and acquaint students with their physical surroundings. Successful completion of this phase permits participants to advance rapidly in their next phase of development.

Homestay Abroad Culminates Intensive Foreign Language Program

The last foreign study program discussed is a unique homestay which serves as the culminating experience to an intensive foreign language program at Kenston High School in Chagrin Falls, Ohio. It is described here by its director, Beverly Wattenmaker.

In the fall of 1970, Kenston High School initiated its now famous Foreign Language Without Failure Program based on the ideas expressed by William Glasser in *Schools Without Failure*. Using the CREDIF materials as a base, the program emphasizes the importance of the individual and focuses on helping each student satisfy his/her personal needs. In addition to learning a foreign language, its major goals include helping the students to become more aware of themselves, to value others, to interact joyfully with others, and to develop a more positive self-image.

In September 1972, the department introduced an intensive foreign language program as an alternative to its ongoing "without failure" program. Twenty-one Spanish and 19 French students enrolled in the program which met for two and one-half hours daily from September to December and culminated in a three week homestay experience abroad. The longer time allocation permitted greater freedom in scheduling learning experiences and allowed students to progress more rapidly toward a meaningful and practical application of the language learned. Besides meeting at school, classes met twice a week in students' homes, field trips were scheduled, and students had ample time to learn to get along together as a group. The latter proved to be a very important factor in learning to get along with and appreciating people in a foreign culture.

The highlight of the program was the three week homestay trip to Mexico and France. Both the French and Spanish classes were divided into two groups of 8 to 10 students. Each group was sent to a different French or Spanish community where little or no English was spoken. Our task was not only to speak the target language, but to adapt to a new culture—an eye-opening, mind stretching experience for anyone. The fact that this was *not* a vacation but an educational experience on school time was the unique part of the experience. The walls of our classroom had truly been opened.

We contracted with the Experiment in International Living to arrange for our homestay experiences in the foreign countries. They assign us communities on the basis of families willing to receive our students. Each student was assigned to a different family for the three week stay. Although we staged a few group activities, we mainly did whatever the family did. For some that meant working in a store; for others it meant sightseeing and socializing.

Some students lived in tiny impoverished mountain villages while others stayed in affluent cities. The income of most families ranged from modest to relatively well-to-do. But always, the experience was exhilarating and rewarding. A few highlights may be of interest.

> A sophomore the day after his first night. His small house was modest, the mountain air cold. There was no heat, no fireplace to get warm. He had shared a bedroom with his two Mexican brothers. The food and language were strange. When I greeted him on his first morning in Valle de Bravo, his expression was grim. Three weeks seemed like a lifetime to be there. Yet, after a week he wrote home, "I never thought so barren and humble a house could be so warm and full of love."
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> A student in Coatepec, Mexico, felt sorry for herself because she had been placed in a family that worked 16 hours a day in a small hardware type store. She wanted to change families. Her ability to adapt to the situation and not leave the family for a more prosperous one was for her a real accomplishment, a growing experience.
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> A student in Nantes, France, expressed to his family his interest in wrestling. They arranged for him to work out with the amateur wrestling champion of

France. Bruce hadn't understood that his wrestling partner was a champion and had really been impressed with his ability. You can imagine his shock later when he saw the champ's picture in the local paper. For him an unforgettable experience.

The enthusiasm of students returning from their homestay experience was amazing. In some cases they carried their new understandings into other areas of their school work, following up newly discovered interests acquired during their journey. Many volunteered to help out in the first and second year classes in Spanish and French, sharing their understanding with students who had not taken the trip. They worked effectively and provided an extraordinary resource for the staff.

One area of concern was the necessary interruption of the students' other studies. Some of the joy of our experience was dampened by negative and angry reactions of some of the other staff members. We had been so involved in developing our own program that we failed to consider the rest of the staff. In response to this problem we attempted to involve other subject areas in the program. The response was good. The following year the students had many interesting assignments to do for their other classes during their three week homestay. One student in France studied the water problem of the Loire River as it related to the large city of Nantes. Another observed the whole area of prejudice as it related to the French. He made some fascinating observations and comparisons between American and French attitudes.

In Guadalupe a group of students interviewed the black Communist mayor. In Mexico some of our students investigated labor unions, and the attitudes of the Mexicans toward the U.S. government. Others made a thorough study of the food differences between Mexico and the United States, and did a comparative study of how people earn a living. The factual information gained as well as the processes of doing research and interviewing people provided many valuable learning experience.

As a result of listening to the needs of other staff members, last year the intensive program was shortened by three weeks. Classes met from September through November. December was spent abroad, and the students returned to class with the rest of the student body after the holiday vacation. This made the homecoming less disruptive and provided the students with the last three weeks of the semester to make up work and share their experiences, reports, and research projects with their fellow students. This year the nonlanguage faculty has been more cooperative and enthused about the intensive program. They have helped students to define research projects and they look forward to their return.

Since beginning the intensive program, we have been concerned about keeping the cost of the homestay abroad to a minimum. The student body at Kenston is a hetergeneous one that includes a poor black ghetto, a white farm community, and a wealthy suburban community. In order to make the program available to all students, interested participants sign up a year in advance and are provided many opportunities to earn and save money. For example, the school guidance department helps students find jobs by advertising in the local paper. In the past, 50 to 100 percent of the total cost has been earned by the majority of participating students. This past year, the total cost (flight, food, lodging, excursions) for the three week homestay in the French West Indies was $575.00. The Mexico program, which included five days in Mexico City, amounted to $475.00.

There is no doubt that maintaining such a program requires energy and commitment on the part of everyone involved: students, parents, faculty, administration, and community. However, it is worthwhile when one reads the comments of students evaluating the program:

> I have learned more about myself and other people during these classes and trip than I have during my 13 years of school.
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> Getting along with and learning to appreciate the people in this class has been the most important preparation for me, not only for the trip but for my life.

Conclusion

The descriptions of the foreign study and/or travel programs offered in this paper represent but a few of the many existing programs available to high school and college students today. Each claims its own unique characteristics and yet all of them strive to help students improve their second language competence and gain a deeper insight in the way of life of another people. Probably the most important and sometimes unwritten element of these five programs is that they also help students acquire a better understanding of their own culture including the many different ethnic cultures which exist today in the United States. In that way they contribute significantly to the culture revolution in America and in language teaching.

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